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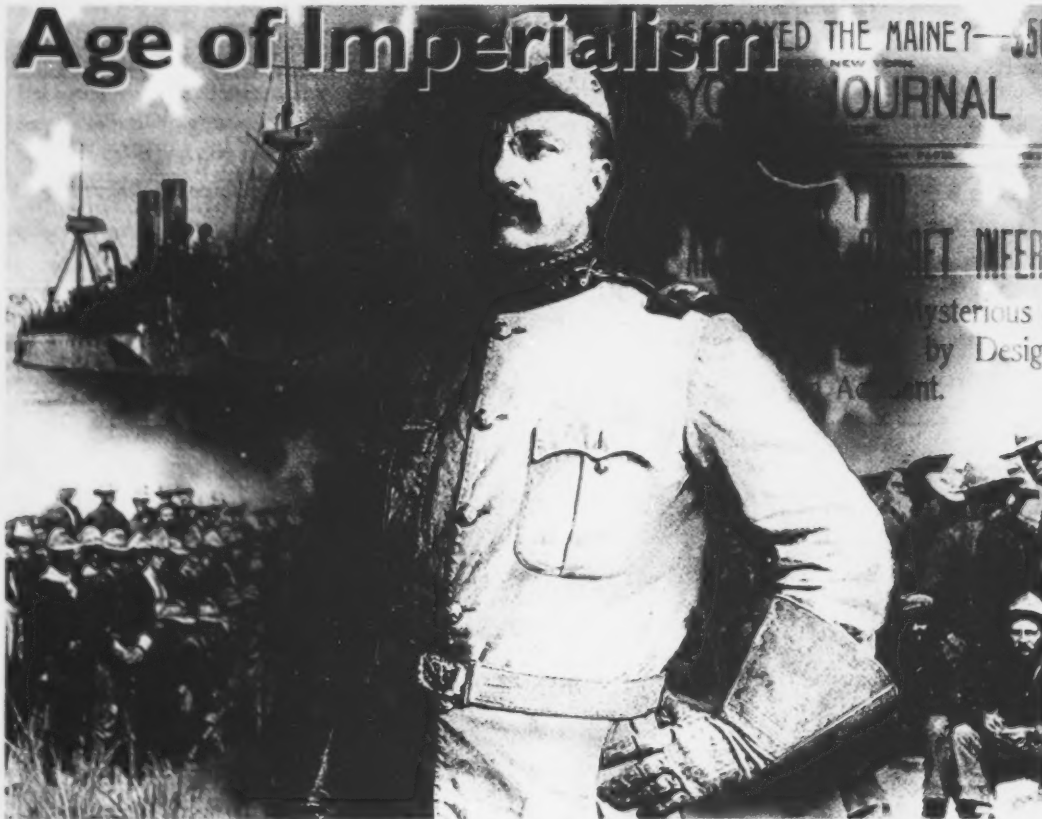
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ABSTRACT

This packet contains student materials and a teacher's guide. The materials are designed to make complex international issues understandable and meaningful for students. The unit probes the political, moral, and racial issues raised by the Spanish-American War and the acquisition of an overseas empire. Students compare the values and concerns at the turn of the 20th century with the challenges facing U.S. foreign policy today. The teacher's guide contains a suggested day-by-day (for five days) lesson plan and student activities. An optional lesson is given that examines how the changes taking place in U.S. society in the 1890s shaped the U.S. outlook of the world. Topics of the lesson plan are: (1) the values of the era through the voice of Theodore Roosevelt; (2) the attitudes of the contemporary African-American community toward imperialism, racism, and the contributions of black soldiers; (3) the issues confronting the United States at the close of the Spanish-American War; (4) the leading values influencing U.S. public opinion in the fall of 1898; and (5) the long-term consequences of U.S. involvement in the Caribbean and the Philippines. Two concluding optional lessons add a further dimension. The first pulls students into the controversies stirred by Rudyard Kipling's "The White Man's Burden" and the poetic rebuttals that followed. The second probes the groundbreaking historical evidence about the sinking of the "Maine" featured in the study of Admiral Rickover. The guide also outlines an alternative 3-day lesson plan.
(BT)

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Reluctant Colossus: America Enters the Age of Imperialism



PUBLIC POLICY DEBATE IN THE CLASSROOM

Choices for the 21st Century Education Project

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Brown University

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Reluctant Colossus: America Enters the Age of Imperialism is the seventh unit in a series that applies the choices approach to critical junctures in history. The Choices Education Project also publishes an ongoing series on current foreign policy issues. New units are published each academic year, and units addressing current issues are updated regularly.

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Thomas J. Biersteker
Director

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Optional Reading: Growing Pains — America in the 1890s

The 1890s were a period of opportunity and challenge for the United States. George Washington and Thomas Jefferson would have scarcely recognized their country as it approached the 20th century. The struggling republic that they helped mold had in the span of a century grown to become, in many respects, the strongest nation on earth.

Virtually everything had changed since America's early years. Not only had the United States emerged as an economic and political giant, but its people and their everyday lives had been radically altered. America's self-image had fundamentally changed as well — and with it the values that shaped the U.S. role in the world.

THE CHANGING UNITED STATES

Population growth and economic expansion recast the face of America in the late 19th century. Much of the transformation was related to immigration.

Of the 70 million Americans living in the mid-1890s, more than 45 percent were immigrants or the children of immigrants. The pace of immigration rose sharply in the last two decades of the 19th century. Moreover, the immigrants themselves were broadening America's ethnic diversity.

Whereas earlier generations of immigrants had come largely from northwestern Europe, the wave of immigration that began in the 1880s drew substantially from eastern and southern Europe. Most of the new immigrants settled in the bustling cities of the northeast, where their presence was increasingly felt by America's business and political elite.

A nation of city dwellers

The rise in immigration went hand in hand with urban growth. In George Washington's day, less than 5 percent of America's population lived in towns or cities having 8,000 or more inhabitants. By the end of the 19th century, one-third of Americans were city dwellers. New York, with 3 million people, was one of the largest cities in the world, and Chicago, at almost 1.5 million people, was not far behind. With

bigger cities came problems that are familiar to Americans today: overburdened transportation systems, inadequate sanitation, rising crime, substandard housing, and political corruption.

With Americans pouring into the cities, agriculture began to slip from its central place in American society. At the time the United States gained independence, 90 percent of Americans made their living directly or indirectly off the land. By the end of the 19th century, manufacturing had overtaken agriculture as the leading source of national wealth.

During the 1890s, iron and steel production became the most important industry in the nation, surging ahead of meat packing and flour milling. The machine age was even making rapid inroads in the countryside, as farmers increasingly relied on railroads to receive supplies and ship their crops to market. Steam-driven farm machinery was even beginning to replace human and animal muscle in the fields.

International trade steadily gained significance in the U.S. economy. The annual value of American exports passed the \$1 billion mark during the 1890s, outdistancing imports by a sizable margin. The composition of U.S. exports shifted as well.

While cotton, grain, beef, tobacco, and dairy products had long been the mainstays of U.S. trade, American manufacturers were now competing successfully with their European counterparts in the international market. By 1900, nearly one-third of American exports consisted of manufactured goods.

U.S. leaders viewed their country's trade surplus as crucial to America's continued prosperity. As a result, U.S. foreign policy was geared toward finding overseas markets to buy the surplus output of America's factories and farms. Britain, Germany, and other wealthy nations, however, placed high taxes, or tariffs, on imported manufactured goods to protect their own factories. European tariffs compelled U.S. exporters to turn to the less developed countries of Latin America and Asia to expand their sales. China, the most populous country in the world, was especially attractive.

DEPRESSION JOLTS U.S. CONFIDENCE

America's optimism was badly shaken by a severe economic depression that struck in the spring of 1893. Sparked by the unexpected bankruptcy of two major railroads, panic selling on the New York Stock Exchange sent the value of shares tumbling. Within a year, more than 500 banks and 16,000 businesses went bankrupt. Stockpiles of goods mounted, driving prices downward. Millions of Americans lost their jobs. For the nation's farmers, the depression of 1893 only worsened a slump in income that had begun in 1888. While signs of an economic recovery surfaced in late 1896, the United States did not regain the prosperity of the early 1890s until 1901.

"Cheap" vs. "tight" money

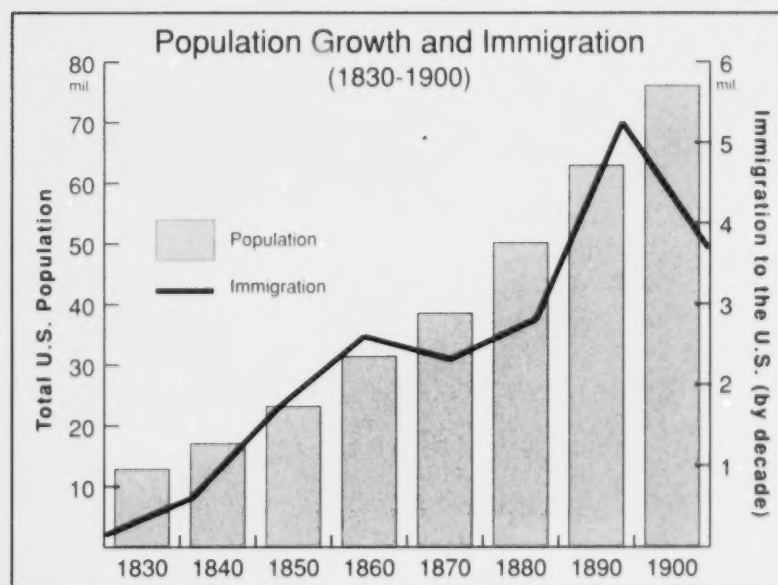
Not surprisingly, pressure mounted on American politicians to put the U.S. economy back on track. Americans, however, were sharply divided about both the cause and the remedy for their country's economic problems.

Many attributed the depression to high interest rates stemming from a shortage of money circulating in the economy. Farmers, most of whom were in debt, supported an increase in the money supply to lower interest rates. Lower interest rates, they reasoned, would ease their debt burden and prop up crop prices.

For the advocates of "cheap" money, silver was the answer to their difficulties. They wanted the government to back the value of the dollar with silver, in addition to gold, to enable the U.S. Treasury to issue more money. (Since 1971, the U.S. dollar has not been backed by any precious metal.)

Others, including President Grover Cleveland, held the opposite position. They believed that the depression had been caused by an excess of money in circulation. The proponents of "tight" money blamed a policy undertaken in 1878 to mint a limited amount of silver coins every year. The silver coins, in effect, increased the money supply, circulating alongside the dominant gold coins and paper currency backed by gold. In October 1893, Cleveland narrowly won Congress' approval to stop the coinage of silver. The measure, however, added to the public's anxiety about the economy. Many Americans sought to protect their savings by exchanging their paper currency for gold coins.

By early 1895, the drain on the U.S. Treasury's gold reserves had pushed the government to the brink of bankruptcy. U.S. officials were compelled to take a loan from New York investment banker J.P. Morgan. The fact that Morgan and his banking associates made several million dollars in commissions on the transaction infuriated supporters of cheap money and deepened their mistrust of Cleveland.



Labor unrest

For workers, the depression brought home their vulnerability in the industrial economy. Many saw labor strikes as one of their few sources of leverage. In 1894 alone, more than 500,000 workers went out on strike and an additional 600,000 lost their jobs because of strike-related actions. The largest strike began at the Pullman Palace Car Company outside of Chicago and paralyzed railroad traffic in much of the central United States.

The Pullman strike began after the company's president, George Pullman, imposed five wage cuts

U.S. Immigration from Leading Countries — 1850-1900

* = less than 0.1%	1850-60	1860-70	1870-80	1880-90	1890-1900
Ireland	36.9%	24.4%	15.4%	12.8%	11%
Germany	34.8%	35.2%	27.4%	27.5%	15.7%
Britain	13.5%	14.9%	21.1%	15.5%	8.9%
Scandinavia	0.9%	5.5%	7.6%	12.7%	10.5%
Russia	*	0.2%	1.3%	3.5%	12.2%
Austria-Hungary	*	0.2%	2.2%	6.0%	14.5%
Italy	*	0.5%	1.7%	5.1%	16.3%

within a year. Pullman insisted that he needed to reduce his labor costs in the face of declining business. The mayors of Chicago and Detroit urged Pullman to negotiate with the strikers, but he refused. Workers countered by widening the strike. The American Railway Union, whose members serviced trains throughout the country, refused to handle any trains which contained Pullman cars. The union's decision soon brought much of the nation's railroad system to a standstill. Even the delivery of mail was stalled by the strike.

The Pullman strike was ultimately broken by a split within the labor movement and the intervention of the federal government. The American Federation of Labor, a rival of the American Railway Union for leadership of the labor movement, voted against supporting the strike. Meanwhile, the Cleveland administration convinced federal judges to issue a ruling against the strikers on the grounds that they were blocking mail service and interstate commerce. Two days later, Cleveland sent 2,500 federal troops to Chicago, despite the objections of the governor of Illinois. Even with the end of the Pullman strike, however, labor disputes continued to boil over elsewhere in the country.

THE CLOSING OF THE FRONTIER

In the minds of many Americans, the impact of the depression was compounded by the realization that their country was running out of open land. Since

the foundation of the first colonies by European settlers, the North American continent had been seen as vast, bountiful, and largely empty. As settlers moved westward, the experience of taming the frontier shaped the American character. The abundance of fertile land for farming, the discovery of rich mineral resources — even the destruction of Native American societies — contributed to a belief that

Americans had been specially blessed by God.

Americans viewed themselves as belonging to a dynamic, expansionistic, opportunity-filled society. The values that defined the nation — resourcefulness, bravery, pragmatism, ingenuity, individualism, egalitarianism, and patriotism — were closely tied to the frontier.

In more practical terms, the frontier fueled the country's economic growth. Much of America's development in the 19th century stemmed from the exploration, settlement, and exploitation of the country's open spaces. The availability of cheap or, in some cases, free land also attracted a stream of immigrants from Europe and provided an outlet for the restless elements in American society. Although a typical factory worker or farm hand earned less than \$2 a day, millions were inspired by the prospect of heading for the frontier to seek their fortunes.

The national census of 1890, however, revealed that the United States no longer contained a huge, unbroken stretch of unsettled land. To be sure, there were still large pockets of open land that continued to draw settlers westward, but the frontier was officially no more.

In fact, the boundaries of the continental United States had been more or less set by the middle of the 19th century. On the east and the west, the country's limits were defined by two great oceans. To the north, negotiations with Britain had settled border disputes with Canada. In the southwest, the Mexican-American War and the Gadsden Purchase had established the

extent of U.S. territory.

With the frontier closed, many Americans looked to the future with concern. Could their nation's prosperity be sustained without an abundance of open land and untapped resources? Would the divisions between economic classes harden and spark social tensions? Could the values of the frontier survive in a country that seemed to have reached its limits?

LOOKING OVERSEAS

Many American businessmen and politicians believed that the challenges facing their country could be met by overseas economic expansion. They felt that the United States needed to catch up with Britain, France, and the European powers in extending America's influence abroad.

For some among the expansionists, acquiring a few strategic ports to service American ships and to open doors to foreign markets was sufficient. Others, however, wanted the United States to build a sizeable overseas empire as a means of securing export markets, raw materials, and cheap labor. The "imperialists," as they were known, considered their strategy central to America's role in the world. Just as supporters of "manifest destiny" earlier in the 19th century believed that America's mission was to expand across the continent, the imperialists held that the course of history was pointing the United States abroad.

Social Darwinism

The conviction of the imperialists was grounded in an odd set of scientific theories known as "social Darwinism." Charles Darwin laid the scientific foundation of social Darwinism earlier in the 1800s when he developed his theory of natural selection. According to Darwin, species evolve over time to adapt to their environment through

natural selection. The followers of Darwin applied the same principles to charting the progress of humanity.

Social Darwinism soon entered the intellectual mainstream of the United States. Its proponents explained differences among the world's races and ethnic groups in terms of evolution. For social Darwinists, the cultures of Western Europe — and particularly the Anglo-Saxons of Britain — had demonstrated their superiority by extending their influence over much of the globe. Imperialism, in their opinion, reflected the "survival of the fittest." They considered the domination of Western European cultures as a natural process in the advancement of civilization. Some even viewed imperialism as part of God's plan.

It seems to me that God, with infinite wisdom and skill, is training the Anglo-Saxon race for an hour sure to come in the world's future....The unoccupied arable lands of the earth are limited, and will soon be taken....Then will the world enter upon a new stage of its history — the final competition of races, for which the Anglo-Saxon is being schooled....Then this race of unequaled energy...will spread itself over the earth.

—Rev. Josiah Strong

Hawaii comes under U.S. control

In the United States, social Darwinism entered the foreign policy debate for the first time in connection with Hawaii.

In the eyes of imperialists, the Hawaiian islands had long been seen as a valuable prize. Situated halfway across the Pacific, Hawaii offered a crucial stopping point for American ships en route to East Asia. Moreover, the islands' rich volcanic soil was ideal for growing profitable tropical crops.

By the mid-1800s, much of Hawaii's economy was in the hands of American sugar plantation owners. Most



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avored bringing the islands officially under U.S. control. To that end, they orchestrated a revolt spearheaded by U.S. Marines in January 1893 that toppled Hawaii's native monarchy. The government that came to power quickly approved a treaty to allow the United States to annex Hawaii.

Before the treaty could be ratified by the U.S. Senate, however, it was withdrawn by the incoming president, Grover Cleveland. Cleveland believed that imperialism would corrupt traditional American values. He also opposed Hawaii's new leaders, who in his mind had unjustly deprived the Hawaiian queen of her throne.

Cleveland, however, could not close the door once and for all on U.S. ambitions in Hawaii. His successor, William McKinley, resubmitted the treaty to the Senate in 1898 and won easy approval. Hawaii became a U.S. territory.

It has been the boast of our government that it seeks to do justice in all things without regard to the strength or weakness of those with whom it deals. A substantial wrong has thus been done which a due regard for our national character as well as the rights of the injured people [the native Hawaiians] requires we should endeavor to repair. If a feeble but friendly state is in danger of being robbed of its independence and its sovereignty by a misuse of the name and power of the United States, the United States cannot fail to vindicate its honor and its sense of justice by an earnest effort to make all possible reparations.

—President Grover Cleveland

The election of 1896

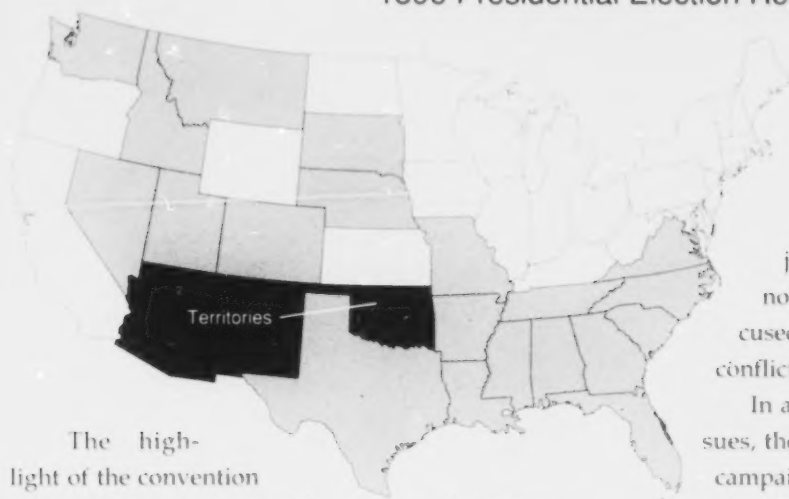
The presidential election of 1896 offered Americans two starkly different visions of where the United States should be heading. As the Republican candidate, Senator William McKinley of Ohio was the favorite of American business interests. McKinley supported maintaining a fairly tight grip on the money supply to curb inflation and backed high tariffs to protect American manufacturing industries. Like most leading Republicans, he called for economic expansion overseas. McKinley's nomination at the Republican convention was virtually uncontested.

In contrast, the Democratic convention was filled with drama. The platform adopted by the convention delegates condemned the tight money policies of the outgoing Democratic president, Grover Cleveland, and denounced Cleveland's use of federal troops to break the Pullman railroad strike. Their criticism of high tariffs was even harsher. The delegates blamed them for undermining the ability of farmers to export their crops, thereby weighing down the prices they received at home.



William Jennings Bryan shouldering the "cross of gold."

1896 Presidential Election Results



	Electoral votes	Percentage of vote
McKinley	271	51.1%
Bryan	176	46.7%

put forward for the presidency by a major political party. (He also received the nomination of the Populist Party.) Some accused the Democrats of stirring the pot of class conflict with Bryan's nomination.

In addition to drawing attention to new issues, the 1896 presidential race also introduced campaign tactics that would be widely adopted in the 20th century. Bryan took his campaign to the people, delivering more than 600 speeches to nearly 5 million Americans.

McKinley could not match Bryan's speaking skills. Instead of travelling around the country, he staged a campaign from his front porch in Canton, Ohio, that relied on the press to transmit his views. Groups of voters were brought in to meet with McKinley and ask him prepared questions, which he answered with scripted replies. McKinley's campaign managers made sure that the press was on hand to report the exchanges in the country's newspapers. Since most newspapers were owned by Republicans, McKinley could count on positive coverage.

Bryan, in contrast, was often portrayed as a dangerous radical. His message was tailored to addressing the fears of farmers. Bryan, however, largely ignored the concerns of urban factory workers. He left himself open to Republican charges that his cheap money proposal would raise inflation, cripple the industrial economy, and cause higher unemployment in the cities.

In the end, McKinley won 7.1 million votes to 6.5 million for Bryan. McKinley nearly swept the Northeast, Midwest, and Far West, while the rest of the country went for Bryan. The new president came to power on the strength of his domestic agenda. Ironically, he would be remembered largely for a war with a European power and the acquisition of an empire.

The high-light of the convention came when a 36-year-old former congressman from Nebraska, William Jennings Bryan, took the podium. In one of the most electrifying political speeches of the 19th century, Bryan stood up for struggling small farmers. He painted a picture of a sharply divided nation. On one side, according to Bryan, was the tremendous wealth of bankers and factory owners in the big cities. On the other was the poverty of working men and women laboring in the fields and mines of the countryside.

You come to us and tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard; we reply that the great cities rest upon our broad and fertile prairies. Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again as if by magic; but destroy our farms and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in the country....If they dare to come out in the open field and defend the gold standard as a good thing, we will fight them to the uttermost. We will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.

—William Jennings Bryan

On the fifth ballot at the convention, Bryan won the nomination, becoming the youngest person ever

Part I: The Spanish-American War

The road which would eventually lead to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 and America's involvement in Vietnam began in the hot sugar cane fields of Cuba over a century ago.

Cuba, the largest island in the Caribbean, held special significance for policymakers in both Spain and the United States at the end of the 19th century. For Spain, Cuba was the last major remnant of what had once been a huge empire in the New World. Nearly all of Spain's possessions in the Western Hemisphere had been lost in the early 1800s, and Spain itself had sunk to the level of a third-rate European power. Nonetheless, the government in Madrid refused to consider granting independence to Cuba — "the Pearl of the Antilles" — or selling the island to another country.

At the time, the country with the greatest interest in acquiring Cuba was the United States. For many

Americans, extending U.S. control over the lush island ninety miles from the tip of Florida seemed only logical. Cuba was often depicted as a choice piece of fruit which would naturally fall into the yard of its powerful neighbor when fully ripe.

It is our destiny to have Cuba and it is folly to debate the question. It naturally belongs to the American continent.

—Stephen Douglas, 1860 presidential candidate

REVOLUTION IN CUBA

In 1868, a revolt against Spanish rule broke out in Cuba. Many of the leading rebels hoped to eventually join the United States after breaking free from Spain. President Ulysses Grant was open to the

NOTE TO STUDENTS

"A splendid little war." That is how history has remembered the Spanish-American War. The war itself was brief and the casualties were comparatively low, but the results of the conflict forever changed the way Americans viewed their country, their values, and the role of the United States in the world. The Spanish-American War and the policy choices that followed laid the foundation for America's international leadership in the 20th century.

As we enter the 21st century, Americans are pondering many of the same questions that gripped our nation a century ago. We are again considering who we are as a nation, what we are becoming, and which values we most prize. As at the turn of the last century, divisions along the lines of race, ethnic background, and economic class continue to trouble our society. Our stake in the global economy is growing, as it was in the 1890s, and yet many Americans do not share in our country's prosperity. By looking into the mirror of the Spanish-American War era, we can better understand how far we have come as a nation and gain a more balanced perspective on the policy choices we face today.

In this unit, you will view the events of the 1890s from a front-row seat. Using primary sources — statements made and documents written during the period under study — you will participate in the debate over the values and policies which brought the United States into a new era. You, too, will join generations of historians in assessing the decisions made at the time. Did they betray the values upon which our country was founded? Or were they the inevitable results of America's "coming of age"?

Finally, the issue of race in the unit deserves special note. As you will learn, race was a key element in the events that you will study. Racial stereotypes and severe discrimination affected both the conduct of the war and broader U.S. foreign policy. Sadly, racist attitudes and beliefs were common at the turn of the century. They are presented here to deepen your insight into the history of the period.



"Spanish warfare"

proposal, but he was persuaded by his secretary of state to keep the United States a safe distance from the conflict. After a decade of fighting and the loss of 200,000 lives, the rebels put down their arms. Spanish rule remained in place, although Spain pledged to allow limited self-government.

With the revolt over, \$50 million worth of American investment flowed into Cuba. Most of it was channeled into the island's sugar industry, which represented four-fifths of the Cuban economy. The United States was also far and away the largest customer for Cuban sugar. In 1890, the United States removed tariffs on Cuban sugar entering the American market. The legislation boosted the fortunes of both the overall Cuban economy and American investors on the island. Cuban-American trade soon approached \$100 million annually.

The depression of 1893, however, quickly spread from the United States to Cuba. Pressure mounted in Congress to cut back on imports and protect American sugar producers. In 1894, the United States imposed a 40 percent tariff on sugar imports from Cuba. The effects were immediately felt in Cuba. As

Cuba's economy sputtered, the cause of rebellion again gained momentum. This time, much of the funding and organization for the movement came from Cuban immigrants in New York and Florida. They helped buy weapons and smuggle them into Cuba aboard ships sailing from southern U.S. ports. Such "filibustering" expeditions were illegal under international law, and U.S. coastal patrols blocked most of them.

America drifts toward war

A full-scale revolt erupted in Cuba in 1895 and soon engulfed the island. Spain responded even more harshly than in the first round of rebellion, sending more than 120,000 troops to fight an estimated 60,000 Cuban insurgents.

The military commander of the Cuban nationalists, Maximo Gomez, aimed at the economic foundation of Spanish rule. He attempted to cut off Spanish garrisons in the cities from food supplies in the countryside. Sugar growers were ordered to stop producing, while small farmers were forbidden from selling supplies to the Spanish. Gomez warned that violators would be severely punished. By 1898, Gomez had indeed brought the Cuban economy to a standstill. Of course, innocent civilians paid a heavy price for his strategy.

The Spanish also saw economic control as the key to victory. Unable to pin down the nationalist forces, they sought to isolate them from the general population in the countryside. Spain's governor in Cuba, General Valeriano Weyler, herded hundreds of thousands of Cuban peasants into towns policed by Spanish troops. The "reconcentration" camps, however, lacked adequate food, housing, and sanitation. Disease and starvation took a terrible toll.

As the war in Cuba intensified, coverage in the American press increased. Many of the stories were supplied by Cuban nationalists living in the United States. Publishers of the so-called "yellow press" — named because the newsprint used was slightly yellow — soon found that news of the Cuban revolt sold newspapers. They were eager to print reports of Spanish atrocities, real or fictitious.

William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer,

owners of two of the largest newspaper chains, competed fiercely for news about Cuba. Both men sent teams of reporters and artists to cover the revolt and generate support for U.S. intervention in the conflict. Religious magazines, particularly those published by Protestant denominations, likewise called for the United States to join the fighting on humanitarian grounds.

No man's life, no man's property is safe. American citizens are imprisoned or slain without cause. American property is destroyed on all sides....Cuba will soon be a wilderness of blackened ruins. This year there is little to live upon. Next year there will be nothing. The horrors of a barbarous struggle for the extermination of the native population are witnessed in all parts of the country. Blood on the roadsides, blood on the fields, blood on the doorsteps, blood, blood, blood! Is there no nation wise enough, brave enough to aid this blood-smitten land?

—New York World

Despite the drumbeat for intervention in the press, Americans were divided about their country's role in the Cuban revolt. The business community and the financial press of the northeast opposed going to war with Spain over Cuba. In Congress, advocates of war were in the minority, although they voiced their opinions loudly. Most Congressmen sided with the cautious policy of President McKinley, who favored a peaceful settlement of the revolt. Meanwhile, calls for U.S. intervention rang the loudest in many of the same areas that were the strongholds of William Jennings Bryan. Support for strong action was often tied to a religious conviction that America should help ease suffering abroad.

"Remember the Maine!"

In February 1898, two events turned American public opinion sharply toward war. On February 9, the *New York Journal* published a private letter which the Spanish ambassador to Washington, Enrique Dupuy de Lome, had sent to a friend in Spain. The letter included a biting critique of the president.

"McKinley is weak and a bidder for the admiration of the crowd," Dupuy de Lome wrote, "besides being a would-be politician who tries to leave a door open behind himself while keeping on good terms with the jingoes of his party."

Publication of the letter provoked outrage in the United States. Many Americans took de Lome's comments as an insult against their country. The Spanish ambassador quickly resigned and Spain apologized. Before the episode died down, however, Americans were again stunned by a much more serious incident in Cuba's Havana harbor.

On January 25, 1898, the U.S.S. *Maine*, a second-class battleship in the U.S. fleet, dropped anchor in Havana harbor on a courtesy call. Visits by foreign warships in time of peace were common in the late 19th century, and Madrid welcomed McKinley's request to send the *Maine* to Cuba.

McKinley's purpose in dispatching the *Maine* was two-fold. First, the ship's sailors would be in a position to protect and even evacuate American citizens living in Havana if a threat to their safety arose. Second, the warship's presence gave McKinley added leverage in pressing Spain to reach a just settlement with the Cuban nationalists.

After passing three uneventful weeks in Havana harbor, the *Maine* was ripped apart by a tremendous explosion on the night of February 15. Two hundred and sixty American sailors were killed. Although the *Maine's* captain, who survived the explosion, urged a careful investigation to determine the cause of the disaster, the American press immediately blamed the Spanish authorities. A new slogan — "Remember the *Maine*, to hell with Spain!" — swept the nation. The *New York Journal* even offered \$50,000 in exchange for the identity of the culprits. Within the McKinley administration, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt expressed certainty that "the *Maine* was sunk by an act of dirty treachery on the part of the Spanish."

WAR WITH SPAIN

Regardless of his own doubts about the *Maine* explosion, McKinley did little to calm the war fever

\$50,000 REWARD.—WHO DESTROYED THE MAINE?—\$50,000 REWARD.
EXTRA EDITION FOR GREATER NEW YORK **NEW YORK JOURNAL** **EXTRA**
 6 O'CLOCK A. M. AND ADVERTISER. 6 O'CLOCK A. M.

**THE WAR SHIP MAINE WAS SPLIT IN TWO
 BY AN ENEMY'S SECRET INFERNAL MACHINE!**

**Officers and Men at Key West Describe the Mysterious Rending of the
 Vessel and Say It Was Done by Design
 and Not by An Accident.**

Front page of the *New York Journal*, February 17, 1896.

that was building in the country. Without waiting for the results of an official investigation, he took steps to prepare the United States for war. On March 9, 1898, both houses of Congress unanimously approved the president's request to add \$50 million to the defense budget. When U.S. investigators, working under intense political pressure, reported to the public on March 28 that the *Maine* had been sunk by an underwater mine, McKinley had grounds to take bolder measures.

Meanwhile, U.S. diplomats were finding that Spain was increasingly anxious to avoid war with the United States. They reported that the Spanish were prepared to dismantle the reconcentration camps, as McKinley had earlier demanded. On April 9, Spain announced a truce in its campaign against the nationalists and pledged to expand the scope of Cuban self-government.

On April 19, however, the United States raised the stakes further. Responding to a request from the president, Congress declared Cuba independent and demanded the withdrawal of Spanish forces. Congress also granted McKinley the authority to go to war to enforce the resolution.

Both McKinley and Congress wanted to present their stance strictly in terms of

defending the rights of the Cuban people. To that end, Congress passed an amendment stating that the United States had no interest in asserting "sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control" over Cuba and promised to "leave the government and control of the island to its people" once peace was restored.

The amendment, named for Senator Henry Teller, addressed two sources of criticism. First, anti-imperialists worried that intervention in Cuba disguised a larger plan to acquire an American empire



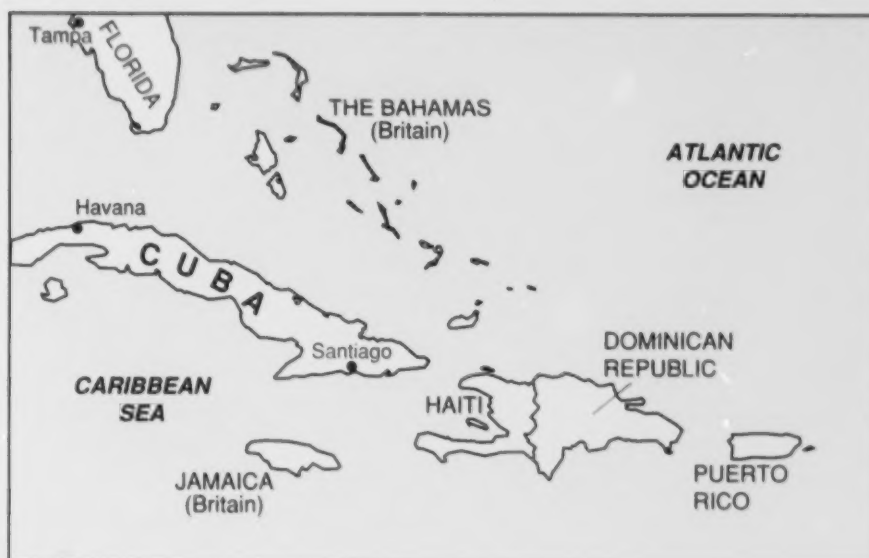
at Spain's expense. Second, sugar growers in southern states feared that the annexation of Cuba would leave them unable to compete with the island's sugar plantations.

Military mismatch

U.S. demands left Spain with few choices. On April 24, 1898, Madrid declared war on the United States. American preparations to liberate Cuba, however, were far from ready. At the outset of the war, the U.S. Army numbered only 28,000 men. Most were stationed at remote posts in the southwest. In contrast, Spain had 150,000 tired, but seasoned, troops on Cuba. Thousands of American volunteers were needed to defeat the Spaniards.

Fortunately for the American war effort, the U.S. Navy provided the country with an early taste of victory. Nearly two months before the war began, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt had instructed the commander of the Pacific fleet, Commodore George Dewey, to draw up plans to attack the Spanish fleet based in the Philippines. When Spain declared war, Dewey had already led the American fleet from its home port in Hong Kong to the mouth of Manila harbor. On May 1, he attacked. Dewey's squadron first knocked out the Spanish cannons on shore, then sank every ship in the Spanish fleet.

Dewey's triumph sparked an outpouring of pride in the United States. In the months that followed, more than 220,000 volunteers signed up to fight the Spanish. Among the most prominent of the volunteers was Roosevelt, who resigned from the McKinley administration to form a cavalry regiment. Joined by his friend, Colonel Leonard Wood, an army surgeon who had been awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, Roosevelt recruited primarily from the rugged territories of Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma, as well as from North and South Dakota.



The unit, nicknamed the "Rough Riders," also included a sprinkling of volunteers from elite Ivy League colleges in the northeast.

Arming, clothing, transporting, and training the volunteers taxed the capabilities of the army. The ships that had been assembled in Tampa, Florida, to sail for Cuba even lacked space for the horses of the Rough Riders. Nonetheless, a U.S. force of 17,000 soldiers landed in southeastern Cuba on June 22, 1898.

The Americans set their sights on Santiago, the principal Spanish garrison in Cuba. Over the next ten days, the Americans steadily advanced against determined Spanish resistance. Casualties were heavy on both sides. Among the U.S. forces, 10 percent of the troops involved in the offensive against Santiago were killed or wounded. Nearly all of the 345 Americans who died in battle during the entire war were killed in the Santiago campaign. (More than 2,500 U.S. servicemen died from disease, food poisoning, and accidents during the Spanish-American War.)

The decisive battles of the offensive took place on July 2, when the Americans captured two heavily fortified hills overlooking the road to Santiago. Spearheading the assault up Kettle Hill were Roosevelt's Rough Riders and two regiments of black soldiers. At the same time, other U.S. regiments charged San Juan Hill. By the end of the day, the Americans controlled the route to Santiago.



Charge of the Rough Riders, as painted by newspaper artist Frederic Remington.

The following day, American warships met the Spanish Caribbean fleet outside of Santiago harbor. As in the Philippines, the Spanish ships were outgunned. They were either sunk or forced to shore. On July 17, the Spanish surrendered Santiago. The war in Cuba was all but over.

REVOLUTION IN THE PHILIPPINES

Half a world away in the Philippines, Spanish defenses in Manila were likewise crumbling. U.S. troops did not reach the Philippines until two months after Dewey's naval victory. Once there, they joined forces with Filipino insurgents who had been fighting the Spanish since 1896.

The main attack against Spain's defenses in Manila took place on August 13, 1898, one day after a preliminary peace treaty was signed between Washington and Madrid. A communications delay left both sides unaware of the agreement. From their positions outside Manila, U.S. and Filipino forces quickly trapped the Spanish. After a brief show of resistance, Spain's commander surrendered. At the same time, Filipino units were strengthening their hold in the countryside.

As in Cuba, the struggle against Spanish colonialism in the Philippines had built up slowly. Initially, Filipino patriots did not press for full independence. Instead, they called for political, economic, and religious reforms. Their demands included full equality before the law, local self-rule, freedom of the press, equal pay for equal work, and the return of land which had been taken from native

Filipinos by Spanish religious authorities.

The first round of rebellion ended in a stalemate in December 1897. The Spanish promised to make modest reforms and, in turn, the rebels agreed to a cease-fire. The leader of the nationalists, Emilio Aguinaldo, went into exile. In March 1898, however, the nationalists resumed their revolt, complaining that the Spanish had failed to live up to their promises. Their goal was now full independence. The nationalist cause received a boost when Dewey sank the Spanish fleet at Manila. Three weeks later, Aguinaldo



U.S. troops in Cuba suffering from tropical diseases, by Charles J. Post.

returned to the Philippines to again take command of the struggle.

The Filipino war for independence, however, aroused little interest in the United States. In late 1897, the McKinley administration responded with indifference to an appeal by Aguinaldo for U.S. support. President McKinley was scarcely exaggerating when he later told a group of clergymen that, before Dewey's victory, he was not even sure where the Philippines were located.

Dewey was the first American to take the Filipino nationalists seriously. Although he destroyed Spain's naval capability, he realized that U.S. ground troops would not reach the Philippines for at least two months. Dewey saw Aguinaldo's forces as allies in the war against Spain, and supplied them with rifles, ammunition, and small cannons. Dewey's strategy, for which he was later criticized, was based on his experience as a Union soldier in the South during the Civil War. He recalled that freed black slaves were a key asset in defeating the Confederacy.

I said these people [the Filipinos] were our friends and we have come here and they will help us just exactly as the negroes helped us in the Civil War.

—Commodore George Dewey

Aguinaldo assumed that Dewey's gesture reflected official U.S. policy. On May 24, 1898, he proclaimed himself the head of a temporary revolutionary government and pledged to hold elections. Aguinaldo expressed his special gratitude to the United States.

The great North American nation, the cradle of genuine liberty, and therefore the friend of our people, oppressed and enslaved by the tyranny and despotism of its rulers, has come to us manifesting a protection as decisive as it is undoubtedly disinterested towards our inhabitants, considering us as sufficiently civilized and capable of governing ourselves and our unfortunate country.

—Emilio Aguinaldo

In fact, U.S. officials at the time were wary of Filipino independence. Most were inclined to make the islands a U.S. "protectorate" (a country that is administered and largely controlled by a stronger power) for an indefinite period of time. In the next few months, leaders in both the United States and the Philippines would begin to appreciate the extent of the gap in communications between them.

Part II: Race and American Society in the 1890s

The Spanish-American War and the debate which followed over the U.S. role in the Caribbean and the Philippines brought the race issue once again to the forefront of American society.

Before the fighting began, racial issues entered into the effort to form an effective army. Thousands of black men came forward as volunteers. U.S. officials questioned if they should be accepted into the military. Once enlisted, controversy focused on whether they should be led by black or white officers.

After Spain's surrender, race became part of the discussion about the Spanish colonies that had fallen under U.S. control. The United States was suddenly left to decide the fate of millions of people, most of them non-white, in the Caribbean and the Philippines. Concern was voiced by many Americans about the danger of contact with "inferior" races. Others felt that the "white races" had a special mission to spread Western civilization.

The issue of race, of course, had haunted America since the formation of the first colonies. By the late 1890s, however, rapid economic and social change had given the problem new dimensions. Industrialization, immigration, the growth of cities, and rising expectations had altered the way Americans of all races looked at each other and the world. In this section of the background reading, you will come to better understand how race and racism shaped our country's first important steps into the arena of international affairs.

BLACK AMERICA IN THE 1890s

Although more than thirty years had passed since the Civil War ended slavery in the United States, African-Americans in the late 1890s still lived in the shadow of oppressive racism. The momentum to open opportunities for blacks that followed the war had begun to wane in the 1870s. By 1877, the last federal troops were withdrawn from the states of the defeated Confederacy. Increasingly, Washington gave up on efforts to promote the rights of blacks in the South.

Southern states quickly seized the initiative to

erect new barriers to racial equality. By 1890, blacks were largely denied their most basic civil rights in the South, including the rights to vote, to serve on juries, and to hold public office. The Republican Party, which had earlier pinned its political hopes on gaining votes from newly registered black voters in the South, quietly shifted its strategy.

Enforcing white supremacy

White supremacy was enforced through both legal means and brutal violence. In most southern states, state constitutions required that citizens pass a literacy test to register to vote. For example, a revision of the Mississippi constitution issued in 1890 required that voters "be able to read any section of the constitution of this state, or he shall be able to understand the same when read to him, or give a reasonable interpretation thereof." The local registrar of voters had the authority to choose the most difficult sections of the document and to judge the applicant's response.

African-Americans who dared challenge the



Newly freed blacks voting shortly after the Civil War.

system were often physically attacked. From 1890 to 1900, more than 120 black men were murdered by lynch mobs on average each year. Those responsible for the murders were almost never brought to justice. Rather, the lynchings reinforced a climate of fear and intimidation that reached into nearly every black community. Occasional attempts by northern Republicans in Congress to stop the violence were consistently thwarted.

We took the government away. We stuffed ballot boxes. We shot them. We are not ashamed of it.... We eliminated all of the colored people whom we could under the 14th and 15th amendments.... The brotherhood of man exists no longer, because you shoot negroes in Illinois, when they come in competition with your labor, as we shoot them in South Carolina when they come in competition with us in the matter of elections. You do not love them any better than we do. You used to pretend that you did, but you no longer pretend it, except to get their votes.

—Senator Ben Tillman, South Carolina

White supremacists focused on keeping blacks out of positions of power. Even black government officials were not safe. Fraser Baker, for example, was the victim of a white mob after he was appointed postmaster in a small, largely black town in South Carolina in 1898. Baker and his infant son were killed in an attack on his home. His killers were never brought to trial. To compound the injustice, Congress rejected a bill introduced by the McKinley administration to compensate Fraser's widow.

Plessy v. Ferguson

The 14th and 15th amendments to the constitution, ratified after the Civil War, established that blacks enjoyed the same political and legal rights as other Americans. In fact, the spirit of the amendments was soon subverted by new laws in the South, as well as in many northern states, that separated the races. Two sets of schools, parks, cemeteries, and other public institutions were created. Businesses were legally allowed to treat blacks and whites differently. In prac-

tice, the discriminatory laws, known as "Jim Crow," meant that blacks were typically denied a good education, adequate services, and job opportunities.

Jim Crow laws seemed to be an easy target for a legal challenge on constitutional grounds. A test case indeed came before the Supreme Court in 1896 in response to a Louisiana law that required "equal but separate accommodations" for white and black railroad passengers. Homer Plessy, a shoemaker who was one-eighth black, defied the law. Found guilty in state courts, he appealed his case all the way to the Supreme Court. By a seven to one majority, however, the court upheld the constitutionality of the law.

In the majority opinion, the justices held that the 14th amendment was not intended to promote integration between blacks and whites. They also rejected the notion that the constitution should be used to overcome racist attitudes.

We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff's [Plessy] argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it.... If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane.

—*Plessy v. Ferguson*, majority opinion

The *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision was met with widespread disappointment in the African-American community. For many blacks, the ruling confirmed their second-class status in society. Others became more determined to break down racial barriers.

Coping with racism

Despite the discrimination, blacks made notable progress after the Civil War. By the 1890s, over 30 percent of black children 5 to 19 years of age were enrolled in school. Thirty years earlier, the figure had been below 1 percent. At the same time, 40 percent of blacks over the age of nine could read and write. Although the black literacy rate was less than half the rate for

whites, the pace of improvement was encouraging.

Blacks also made strides economically. The discrimination that forced blacks to live apart from white society also set the stage for the formation of a black middle class. Black doctors, lawyers, teachers, and other professionals emerged to serve other African-Americans. Small businessmen and craftsmen filled a critical niche in African-American communities.

Within the African-American community, black leaders differed on how their people could best move forward. The most well-known was Booker T. Washington, a prominent educator. Washington urged blacks to concentrate on economic advancement through hard work and practical education. He believed that as blacks climbed the economic ladder, discrimination would gradually wither. In the political arena, he advised caution.

The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremist folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing.

—Booker T. Washington

By the early 1900s, however, bolder voices were rising in the African-American community. W.E.B Du Bois, a Harvard-educated professor of history and economics, insisted that blacks needed to actively combat racism. He criticized Washington's approach to education, arguing that young blacks should be encouraged to pursue the same career paths as whites.

Negroes must insist continually, in season and out of season, that voting is necessary to modern manhood, that color discrimination is barbarism, and that black boys need education as well as white boys.

—W.E.B Du Bois

"Scientific racism"

While racism was most deeply embedded in the South in the 1890s, it shaped the attitudes of the



Ku Klux Klan terrorists often wore white hoods.

entire country. Racism was given added validity at the time by a peculiar branch of science that emphasized distinctions among ethnic groups.

According to the scientific thinking of the era, the impact of race and ethnicity went much deeper than physical appearance. Rather, scientists saw mental abilities and personality traits as racial characteristics. Whites were considered innately superior to other races. Even among white Europeans, sharp distinctions were drawn. The peoples of northern Europe, such as the English and the Germans, were thought to be the most intelligent and energetic.

Scientific racism rested on an odd foundation of biological research and historical analysis. Particular importance was attached to brain size and skull development. (The same factors were used at the time to assert that men were innately more intelligent than women.) The achievements of individual blacks, such as the scientist George Washington Carver, were dismissed as rare exceptions.

Scientific racism went hand-in-hand with the theories of social Darwinism. Together, they affirmed the view that the United States and a handful of European nations were destined by nature to dominate

the world. Scientific racism was lent further legitimacy by prominent universities and newspapers. America's leaders largely accepted the conclusions of scientific racism. Not surprisingly, its basic principles were seldom questioned by the majority of Americans.

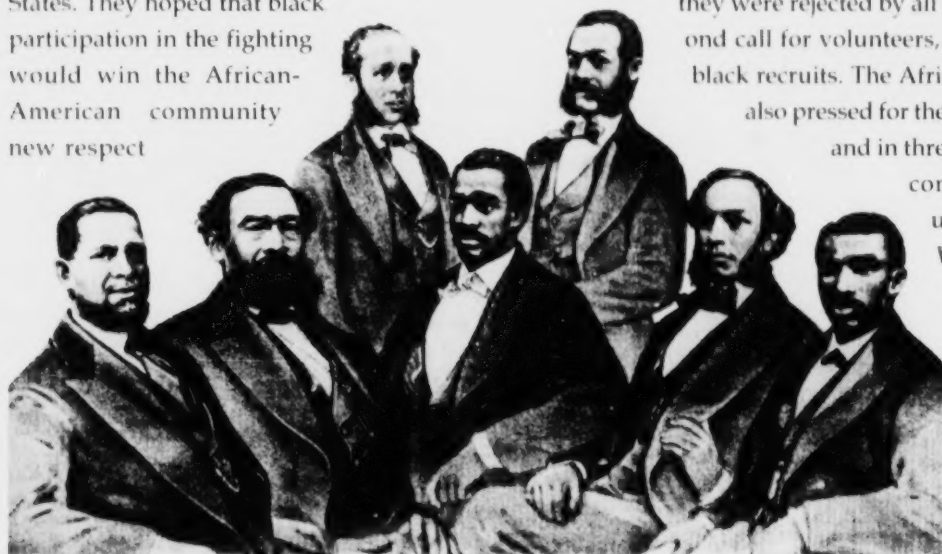
By the nearly unanimous consent of anthropologists this type (the pure negro of central Africa) occupies the lowest position in the evolutionary scale....The attempt to suddenly transform the Negro mind by foreign culture must be as futile as the attempt would be to suddenly transform his physical type.

—Encyclopedia Britannica, 1884

ANSWERING THE CALL TO SERVE

Race influenced how Americans greeted the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. In the African-American community, the struggle of Cuba, which had a large black population, had gained particular sympathy. Like whites, most African-Americans were also caught up in the mood of patriotism that followed the explosion of the *Maine*. There was an added dimension, however, to the black response.

Many black leaders saw the war as an opportunity to elevate their people's status in the United States. They hoped that black participation in the fighting would win the African-American community new respect



The first African-Americans to serve in Congress, elected shortly after the Civil War.

and chip away at the wall of discrimination.

In the eyes of the world the Negro shall grow in the full height of manhood and stand out in the field of battle as a soldier clothed with all the inalienable rights of citizenship.

—Illinois Record (black newspaper)

After the end of the Civil War, military service had been one of the few avenues for advancement open to blacks in American society. The army's four all-black regiments (each comprised of 400 to 800 troops) were ranked among the country's most elite units. Stationed mostly in frontier posts, black soldiers had a much lower rate of desertion and discipline problems than their white counterparts. Nonetheless, they were denied promotion into the officer corps.

When war was declared, the black regiments were included among the first units to be mobilized. War Department officials assumed that black soldiers were better suited to Cuba's tropical climate and more likely to withstand tropical diseases. In the actual fighting, black troops earned widespread praise for their bravery. They played a leading role in breaking through Spanish defenses in the decisive battle of Kettle Hill.

In addition to the regular black units, thousands of black men offered to fight as volunteers. Initially, they were rejected by all but three states. In the second call for volunteers, five more states accepted black recruits. The African-American community also pressed for the inclusion of black officers,

and in three states blacks were put in command of the volunteer units. At the same time, the War Department organized ten volunteer regiments made up of men who were presumed to be immune to yellow fever. Four of the regiments consisted of black soldiers led by black lieutenants.

Black volunteers,



The symbol of justice draws McKinley's attention to anti-black violence.

however, were not given the chance to fight in Cuba. Only one black unit, a regiment from Massachusetts, saw action in the Caribbean, taking part in the invasion of the Spanish colony of Puerto Rico. Meanwhile, their uniforms seldom shielded them from discrimination at bases in the United States.

Race and empire

America's victory over Spain focused attention on the Spanish territories gained in battle. Again, race was central to American perceptions.

Many Americans saw Spain's possessions in the Caribbean — Cuba and Puerto Rico — as an extension of the American South. At first glance, both islands seemed to fit the economic and social profile of the South. Cuba and Puerto Rico were both split along racial lines. Spaniards and their descendents occupied positions of power and authority in the two societies. At the bottom were blacks and those of mixed race. In Cuba, blacks comprised nearly one-third of the

population and provided most of the labor for the sugar plantations. Slavery was not completely abolished on the island until 1886. (Slavery had been phased out in Puerto Rico by 1874.)

In line with the racial stereotypes of the day, most American leaders had little hope that Cuba and Puerto Rico's non-whites could be a force for progress on the islands. At the same time, the Spanish were thought of as backward and cruel. Few expected that the Cubans and Puerto Ricans were capable of developing a stable democracy on their own. Likewise, Americans worried that bringing the islands into the United States would threaten the American political system.

The Philippines presented Americans an even more alien picture than the Caribbean. Before the Spanish-American War, only a handful of Americans had been aware of the Filipino revolt against Spain. In the political cartoons that appeared in U.S. newspapers after the outbreak of fighting,

the Filipinos were often depicted as having African features.

Fancy the Senators and Representatives of ten or twelve millions of tropical people, people of the Latin race mixed with Indian and African blood;...fancy them sitting in the Halls of Congress, throwing the weight of their intelligence, their morality, their political notions, and habits, their prejudices and passions, onto the scale of the destinies of this Republic....Tell me, does not your imagination recoil from the picture?"

—Carl Schurz, newspaper editor

William Howard Taft, the first U.S. civilian governor of the Philippines, referred to them as "little brown brothers." While their cause won support in the African-American press, there was scant effort in the mainstream press to explain the position of the Filipino nationalists.

Fall 1898: America at the Crossroads

On August 12, 1898, the United States and Spain signed a preliminary peace treaty. Spain relinquished all claims to Cuba, permitted temporary U.S. occupation of Manila until the status of the Philippines was determined, and gave control of Puerto Rico to the United States. Almost overnight, the United States had an empire under its control.

In the four months that followed, U.S. and Spanish negotiators worked out the details of the final treaty in Paris. Of the five members of the U.S. peace commission appointed by President McKinley, four were backers of expansion. McKinley instructed them to take a firm stance, especially on the Philippines. By October, he insisted that Spain turn over the entire Philippine island archipelago to the United States. Spain was in no position to resist U.S. demands.

The final treaty, signed December 10, 1898, reflected McKinley's wishes. Cuba was granted independence, and the Philippines and Puerto Rico were transferred to the United States. McKinley agreed to pay \$20 million to compensate Spain for government buildings in the Philippines. The treaty was now ready for consideration by the Senate, in which a two-thirds majority was needed for ratification.

The signing ceremony, however, was overshadowed by the intense debate that was already raging in the United States over the issues addressed in the document. In many respects, the controversy touched on questions that were as profound as those raised by the clash over slavery or the arguments surrounding the writing of the constitution.

Ironically, the Philippines — not Cuba — was at the eye of the storm. Before going to war, Congress had clearly committed the United States to upholding Cuba's independence. In contrast, the status of the Philippines and its nearly 10 million people was never seriously addressed.

The treaty with Spain put the Philippines front and center. It called for Washington to "annex" the islands — in other words, to add the Philippines to U.S. territory as a colony. Opponents of imperialism were outraged. They formed the Anti-Imperialist League in October 1898 to defeat the treaty in the Senate.

The anti-imperialists contended that the creation of a colonial empire would corrupt America's political system. Under their banner, they assembled an impressive assortment of prominent Americans, including former President Grover Cleveland, industrialist Andrew Carnegie, and labor leader Samuel Gompers.

We hold that the policy known as imperialism is hostile to liberty and tends toward militarism....We insist that the subjugation of any people is "criminal aggression" and open disloyalty to the distinctive principles of our government.

—Platform of the Anti-Imperialist League

Leading the fight for the annexation of the Philippines was an equally powerful coalition of politicians, businessmen, religious leaders, and military strategists. Within its ranks were Theodore Roosevelt, Massachusetts Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, and naval historian Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan. The most well-connected expansionists emphasized the economic and military value of imperialism.

Americans must now look outward. The growing production of the country demands it. An increasing volume of public sentiment demands it. The position of the United States, between the two Old Worlds [Asia and Europe] and the two great oceans, makes the same claim.

—Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan

Within the imperialist camp, two distinct positions soon emerged. Proponents of what was known as the "large policy" urged the United States to compete with the European powers to build an overseas American empire. Meanwhile, backers of the "small policy" favored limited expansion to areas of significant strategic or commercial importance. As you will learn, all segments in the debate over the Treaty of Paris of 1898 were to play a vital role in shaping the direction of U.S. foreign policy in the 20th century.

OPTIONS IN BRIEF

OPTION 1 — FULFILL OUR NATIONAL DESTINY

Just as the courage of our founding fathers opened the door to taming the North American continent, the heroism of our soldiers and sailors in Cuba and the Philippines has revealed a new horizon of expansion and possibility. This is our God-given mission. We must grasp the empire that our brave young men have won and fulfill our national destiny. We have been chosen by God for greatness. We must look overseas, particularly to the Far East, to continue advancing. With their safe harbors and strategic location, the Philippine islands are the gateway to all of Asia. Of course, our role in the Philippines must go well beyond economics. Now that we have rescued the Filipinos from Spanish misrule, we owe it to them to bring the benefits of American civilization to the islands. Let us seize our national destiny and move bravely forward.

OPTION 2 — PRESERVE OUR DEMOCRATIC VALUES

In our hearts, we know what is right. We know that ruling over another people without their consent is tyranny. Imperialism flies in the face of our core values of individual freedom and self-government. The imperialists are asking us to annex a far-flung collection of islands half a world away with nearly 10 million people. We are being asked to step into the role of colonial master in the Philippines, just as the Spanish before us. Imperialism is a virus that, if permitted to enter our system, would eventually infect our entire society. The burden of administering an empire would swell the power and cost of our central government at the expense of individual liberty. Do we want to exchange the values of a democratic republic for those of a military dictatorship? We must grant the Philippines independence and walk away from the dangerous illusion of empire.

OPTION 3 — CAREFULLY CALCULATE OUR INTERESTS

A careful assessment of our national interests will surely lead us to the conclusion that the United States should acquire the harbor of Manila and establish a temporary protectorate over the Filipino people. Plunging headlong down the path of reckless imperialism would inevitably bring us into conflict with the imperial powers of Europe and Japan. At the same time, we can no longer retreat into our earlier isolation from international affairs. We are a great nation, and with greatness comes responsibility on the world stage. Leaving the international arena exclusively in the control of the imperial powers would only heighten the competition for colonies. Trade would be stifled and hostilities would deepen. America must act as a force for peace and moderation in international relations. We must be wise and deliberate in our policies, but we cannot afford to be indifferent.

Option 1

FULFILL OUR NATIONAL DESTINY

America's stunning triumph over Spain has ushered our nation into a new era of opportunity and responsibility. Just as the courage of our founding fathers opened the door to taming the North American continent, the heroism of our soldiers and sailors in Cuba and the Philippines has revealed a new horizon of expansion and possibility. This is our God-given mission. We must grasp the empire that our brave young men have won and fulfill our national destiny.

From the beginning, America has been more than just another country. Rather, we have been chosen by God for greatness. With divine blessing, hard work, and a sense of duty rooted in our Anglo-Saxon heritage, we have built the greatest nation on earth. No other country can compete with the productivity of America's farms and factories. No other people has demonstrated the same capacity for wise and moderate self-government. Now we have the opportunity — some would say the obligation — to extend the grand American experiment beyond our shores.

America's economic future lies abroad. The ingenuity, efficiency, and innovation of our people are producing more than our country can consume. As we have witnessed in recent years, the economic problems and social unrest resulting from surplus production threaten to bring down all that we have achieved. We must look overseas, particularly to the Far East, to continue advancing. The markets of Asia hold the key to keeping America's economy healthy and strong. To reach them, however, we need to control the Philippines in their entirety. With their safe harbors and strategic location, the Philippine islands are the gateway to all of Asia.

Of course, our role in the Philippines must go well beyond economics. Now that we have rescued the Filipinos from Spanish misrule, we owe it to them to bring the benefits of American civilization to the islands. We must accept the responsibilities that have been laid before us. Outside of a small educated elite in Manila and a handful of wealthy landowners, most Filipinos are in a primitive state. During three centuries of Spanish colonial rule, the islands made little progress. To move forward, the Filipinos need the firm and fair government that only the United States can provide. They need order and security as they learn about the American concepts of democracy and freedom. They need our helping hand to develop the resources of their islands and to enter the modern age. The task awaiting us is difficult and probably thankless, but it is the morally correct thing to do.

Consider the alternatives. In this age of ruthless colonialism, the Philippines without U.S. protection would be easy prey for powerful, unscrupulous nations like Japan and Germany. As they were under the Spanish, the Filipinos would again be conquered, exploited, and left in misery. Moreover, Manila Bay — the finest natural harbor in the western Pacific — could fall under the control of an unfriendly power. Both Americans and Filipinos would lose.

No self-respecting nation can abandon what was earned by the blood of its fighting men. Our military forces accomplished in a few short months what Filipino and Cuba rebels could not do for themselves in years of struggle. Advancing the cause of civilization in the Philippines gives meaning to those who died in the process, and especially to those who were murdered on the *Maine*.

If we shirk the challenge before us, if we turn inward, we will both dishonor our nation and deprive future generations of the economic blessings which an empire can provide. We will betray the mission which God has given us to act as a beacon of liberty and Christianity. Let us seize our national destiny and move bravely forward.

FROM THE HISTORICAL RECORD

Senator Orville Platt, Connecticut

"I believe the hand of Providence brought about the conditions which we must either accept or be recreant [cowardly] to duty. I believe that those conditions were a part of the great development of the great force of Christian civilization on earth. I believe the same force was behind our army at Santiago and our ships in Manila Bay that was behind the landing of the Pilgrims on

Senator Knute Nelson, Minnesota

"Today, in substance, the English government is as much a republic as our government. Her colonial development has served to increase the liberties of Englishmen....That English government in British India, in Egypt, and in all other English colonies, wherever we look at it, has been a great improvement and a great blessing....Are we incompetent to colonize, to develop, and to govern territorial possessions like England? Is the Yankee inferior to the Englishman? It is our duty under the providence of God to protect the

Rand-McNally Bankers' Monthly

"Railroad building may be expected to boom in all the islands which fall under the influence of the United States. Our sugar and tobacco growing would receive an impetus. The forests may also be made to yield handsome returns, and in

The Churchman

"Woe to any nation brought to pass where it is called to guide a weaker people's future which hesitates for fear its own interests will be

Railway World

"One way of opening a market is to conquer it....Already our enterprising merchants are

Senator Albert Beveridge, Indiana

"The Philippines are ours forever, 'territory belonging to the United States' as the Constitution calls them. And just beyond the Philippines are China's illimitable markets. We will not renounce

Plymouth Rock....The English-speaking people, the agents of civilization, the agency through which humanity is to be uplifted, through which despotism is to go down, through which the rights of man are to prevail, is charged with this great mission. We propose to proclaim liberty in the Philippine Islands, if they are ours."

Philippine islanders against anarchy, chaos and confusion, and the despotism that results from it. We owe them a duty now, as in the case of the drowning child snatched from a watery grave....They are as unfit for self-government as most people on the face of the earth....We are there for two purposes: to give the people of those islands a just, good, fair, and free system of government in some form, and to keep them out of the hands of the great powers."

fact every industry so long under the blighting rule of Spain, will be exploited and made to show the advantages accruing from better government and wider enterprise."

entangled and its own future imperilled by the discharge of unmistakable duty."

beginning to take possession of the markets which our army and navy have opened to them."

our part in the mission of our race, trustee, under God, of the civilization of the world. God has marked us as His chosen people, henceforth to lead in the regeneration of the world....We are not

dealing with Americans or Europeans. We are dealing with Orientals. They are not capable of self-government....Savage blood, Oriental blood, Malay blood, Spanish example — are these the elements of self-government?...The Declaration of Independence applies only to people capable of self-government.

"The power that rules the Pacific, therefore, is the power that rules the world. And with the Philippines, that power is and will forever be the American Republic....The ocean unites; steam [powered vessels] unites us; electricity unites us; all the elements of nature unite us to this region where duty and interest call us....Our fathers wrote into the Constitution words of growth, of expansion, of empire, if you will, unlimited by

geography or climate or by anything but the vitality and possibilities of the American people.

"Do you tell me that it will cost us money? When did Americans ever measure duty by financial standards? Do you tell me of the tremendous toil required to overcome the vast difficulties of our task? What mighty work for the world, for humanity, even for ourselves has ever been done with ease?...Pray God that the time may never come when Mammon [material wealth] and the love of ease shall so debase our blood that we will fear to shed it for the flag and its imperial destiny. The American people must move forward to the future of their hope and the doing of God's work."

BELIEFS AND ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING OPTION 1

1. Just as destiny guided our nation across the North American continent, so it now points to expansion southward and eastward across the seas.
2. God has bestowed a special mission on the American people, choosing us to bring progress, Christian virtues, and order to distant and long-suffering lands. For the Filipinos, annexation by the United States offers them their best, and perhaps only, hope of creating a stable, effective government.
3. Our nation's continued prosperity depends on finding new markets overseas to absorb America's surplus production.

ARGUMENTS SUPPORTING OPTION 1

1. Establishing a U.S. presence in the Philippines will open new commercial opportunities in Asia, particularly in the vast markets of China.
2. Annexing the Philippines will block other countries from seizing the islands and converting them into a base that may threaten U.S. interests.
3. Introducing the American concepts of democracy and liberty to the Filipinos will eventually transform them into reliable allies.
4. Controlling the entire Philippine archipelago will ensure the security of Manila harbor and provide the United States with a strategic naval base for asserting our interests in East Asia.
5. In American hands, the Philippines will quickly emerge as a major exporter of sugar, cotton, tobacco, and other valuable crops.

Option 2

PRESERVE OUR DEMOCRATIC VALUES

America today stands at a crossroads. Along one path, we can continue to follow the wisdom of our founding fathers and make further strides toward peace and prosperity. Along the other, we can join the militaristic governments of the Old World and fall into the ruinous trap of imperialism.

In our hearts, we know what is right. We know that ruling over another people without their consent is tyranny, whether the year be 1776 or 1898. Imperialism flies in the face of our core values of individual freedom and self-government. The Filipinos do not want to be governed by us. To impose our will on them will put our young soldiers in the position of the British redcoats, depriving others of liberty. Is this a worthy cause for shedding American blood? Is this the spirit of '76?

The authors of our constitution recognized the folly of acquiring overseas colonies and did not address the issue in our country's most precious political document. Since then, America's expansion westward has followed a logical course. We have gradually extended our control across the continent, opening new lands to settlement by American citizens and eventual statehood.

This is hardly the case in the Philippines. Rather, the imperialists are asking us to annex a far-flung collection of islands half a world away with nearly 10 million people. There is no thought to giving the Filipinos citizenship or granting the islands statehood. Rather, we are being asked to step into the role of colonial master, just as the Spanish before us.

The Filipinos are not like us. They speak a different language, they practice a different religion, and they know little of our civilization. Our country already suffers from serious racial problems. America's blacks have barely begun to rise from the depths of slavery. Millions of alien immigrants from southern and eastern Europe are pouring into our cities and threatening the stability of our institutions. To aggravate the situation by adding the Filipinos to the mix would be madness.

Imperialism is a virus that, if permitted to enter our system, would eventually infect our entire society. Acquiring a colonial empire would inevitably plunge America into distant conflicts with Japan, Germany, France, Britain, and other imperialist powers. We would soon find ourselves sucked into the intrigues and squabbles of the Old World. Two vast oceans have protected us from the senseless wars of Europe and Asia. To acquire a far-flung empire would be to throw away the splendid isolation with which God has blessed us.

The burden of administering an empire would swell the power and cost of our central government at the expense of individual liberty. As an imperialist power, the United States would be compelled to enlarge the navy and maintain a large standing army. As our founding fathers rightly feared, we would be setting the stage for the emergence of an American caesar. Do we want our young men to be seduced by the lure of military glory abroad rather than productive work at home? Do we want to exchange the values of a democratic republic for those of a military dictatorship?

We must not allow ourselves to be deceived by the false promise of imperialism. America's focus belongs at home, not on seizing distant colonies. We must grant the Philippines independence and walk away from the dangerous illusion of empire.

FROM THE HISTORICAL RECORD

Senator George Hoar, Massachusetts

"A democracy can not rule over vassal states or subject peoples without bringing in the elements of death into its own constitution. The great doctrine of constitutional liberty and of political morality is that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed....When you raise the flag over the Philippine Islands as an emblem of domination and acquisition you take it down from Independence Hall.

"[The power to conquer and create colonies] is not among the express powers granted in the Constitution. This power our forefathers and their descendants loathed and abhorred. They would have cut off their right hands, every one

Senator Ben Tillman, South Carolina

"You are undertaking to annex and make a component part of this government islands inhabited by ten millions of the colored race, one half or more of whom are barbarians of the lowest type.

Senator George Hoar, Massachusetts

"We want to know what rights of citizenship these people are to get by this treaty. The question whether those Malays and Mohammedans

Senator Stephen White, California

"When our Constitution was made it was supposed that the United States would never extend its domain save over those who were not only within the equal protection of the laws, but who were competent to participate in...the benefits of representative civilization....If the Filipino knows

Senator Alexander Clay, Georgia

"If we undertake to cross the oceans and to establish colonies, we will be driven to an alliance with England, Russia, Japan, or some other foreign power in order to hold and defend our newly acquired possessions....Should we annex and permanently retain those islands, and attempt to force a government on the Filipinos against their will, such action will doubtless meet with the determined opposition of those people and a bloody, cruel, and expensive war will necessarily

of them, sooner than set them to an instrument which should confer it. The power to conquer alien peoples and hold them in subjugation is nowhere implied as necessary for the accomplishment of the purposes declared by the constitution.

"You can not subjugate them and govern them against their will because you think it is for their good, when they do not; because you think you are going to give them the blessings of liberty. You have no right at the cannon's mouth to impose on an unwilling people your Declaration of Independence and your Constitution and your notions of freedom and of what is good."

It is to the injection into the body politic of the United States of that vitiated blood, that debased and ignorant people, that we object."

and others can go anywhere in the United States to compete with American laborers is an important practical question to all of our workingmen."

enough to govern himself, we should let him alone. If he does not know enough we do not desire to associate with him....When we place our giant foot upon those islands, we will seek new scenes for aggression and conquest and will consider that it is our duty to encircle the earth"

follow between our soldiers and the inhabitants of the Philippines. The United States has heretofore been solid, compact, contiguous, and impregnable. Remaining in this condition, the naval forces of the world dare not attack us. When we go out into the seas beyond the Western Hemisphere and acquire other countries, we increase our responsibilities, weaken our defenses, and enormously increase the expenses of our Army and Navy."

Carl Schurz, newspaper editor

"I warn the American people that a democracy cannot deny its faith as to the vital conditions of its being — it cannot long play the king over

subject populations without creating within itself ways of thinking and habits of action most dangerous to its own vitality."

General Emilio Aguinaldo, leader of the provisional Filipino government

"American precepts and examples have influenced my people to desire independent government. They established and for seven months have maintained a form of government resembling the American in that it is based upon

the right of the people to rule....It would seem to follow that the present recognition of the first republic of Asia by the greatest Republic of America would be cognizant of right, justice and precedent."

William Jennings Bryan, Democratic presidential nominee

"Trade cannot be permanently profitable unless it is voluntary. When trade is secured by force, the cost of securing it and retaining it must be taken out of the profits, and the profits are never large enough to cover the expense....If we have an imperial policy we must have a great standing

army as its natural and necessary complement. [This] is a menace to a republican form of government. The army is the personification of force, and militarism will inevitably change the ideals of the people and turn the thoughts of our young men from the arts of peace to the science of war."

BELIEFS AND ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING OPTION 2

1. Imposing our will on a foreign country violates the spirit of America's most fundamental values.
2. As American leaders have known from the earliest days of the republic, the United States should steer clear of the evil intrigues of the Old World.
3. The American form of democratic government grew out of our country's unique experience. It is not something that can be transplanted into the soil of an alien culture.

ARGUMENTS SUPPORTING OPTION 2

1. Establishing overseas colonies will be a drain on our government and offer few economic or military advantages in return.
2. Bringing nearly 10 million Filipinos under U.S. control will aggravate our country's racial problems and undercut the position of American workers by opening up a new source of cheap labor.
3. Pursuing an imperialist policy will require a drastic increase in the size of the U.S. Army and Navy, and will give rise to a new set of anti-democratic, militaristic values.
4. Protecting an overseas empire will entangle the United States in alliances with other imperial powers and eventually draw us into war.
5. Annexing territory for the purpose of colonialism rather than statehood will corrupt our political system by creating a new class of subjects denied the benefits of citizenship.

Option 3

CAREFULLY CALCULATE OUR INTERESTS

America today faces a crucial decision. Our victory over Spain has presented us with both opportunity and danger. The United States must again draw on its proven ability to resolve difficult issues from a practical point of view. A careful assessment of our national interests will surely lead us to the conclusion that the United States should acquire the harbor of Manila and establish a temporary protectorate over the Filipino people.

While many have been dazzled by the prospect of empire, few of the enthusiasts for foreign adventure have thoughtfully considered the costs and risks. Plunging headlong down the path of reckless imperialism would inevitably bring us into conflict with the imperial powers of Europe and Japan. Huge sums would have to be spent on expanding America's army and navy. This is money that would be much better invested in railroads, schools, and businesses at home. Imperialism would also threaten our political system. In the past, the United States has fought to advance the cause of liberty. To take up the sword as a conqueror in the Philippines and to wield it permanently as an overlord would change the character of America.

At the same time, we can no longer retreat into our earlier isolation from international affairs. We are a great nation, and with greatness comes responsibility on the world stage. Our continued economic prosperity depends on our success in exporting American goods overseas. Leaving the international arena exclusively in the control of the imperial powers would only heighten the competition for colonies. Trade would be stifled and hostilities would deepen. America must act as a force for peace and moderation in international relations. We must be wise and deliberate in our policies, but we cannot afford to be indifferent.

In the economic sphere, we should press for an "open door" to trade in Asia. All nations should be allowed to compete in the Asian market without restrictions. Given an equal chance, American exporters will earn their fair share of trade. To that end, the harbor of Manila would be an important asset for the United States. We should be thinking in terms enhancing our position in world commerce, not in acquiring colonies. Our values and our people are best suited to trade and industry, not to conquest and empire.

Our only duty is to provide the newly freed Cuban and Filipino peoples with an opportunity to develop without foreign interference. They are welcome to learn from us, but we will not impose the American system on them. We have done our part to bring liberty to the Cubans and Filipinos. The rest is up to them.

By the same token, the United States cannot turn its back on the former Spanish colonies, especially the Philippines. Without U.S. protection, another power would be sure to seize the Philippines. Likewise, the Filipinos themselves would almost certainly slip into chaos and even civil war if they were suddenly deprived of U.S. guidance. The leader of the new Filipino government, Emilio Aguinaldo, himself admires our country's political ideals and recognizes the need for continued American assistance.

By serving as a protector and a friend in the Philippines, the United States can further both our own national interests and those of the Filipinos. As we take our first steps onto the world stage, we can make our experience in the Philippines an example for future generations to follow.

FROM THE HISTORICAL RECORD

Thomas B. Reed, speaker of the House of Representatives

"The greatest aim of a nation should be to use all the appliances for advancing knowledge, to assimilate its peoples to a common standard. To that end we must not hasten. Not every opportunity for aggrandizement should be seized. Too much food may mean indigestion....The middle

of our empire [continental United States] lies undeveloped. There is no need to hurry. As we grow, we will spread fast enough. Our strength grows with our years....Empires which hope for eternity can wait."

Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, naval historian

"Three things are needful: First, protection of the chief harbors, by fortifications and coast defense ships....Secondly, naval force, the arm of offensive power, which alone enables a country to extend

its influence outward. Thirdly, no foreign state should henceforth acquire a coaling position within three thousand miles of San Francisco."

Senator Alexander Clay, Georgia

"I do not pretend to say that these people [the Filipinos] are as capable of self-government as the Americans, and where will you find a population that will compare with ours? They are capable of putting in operation a government suitable to their taste, surrounding, and conditions, and one

that will bring to them much more happiness and satisfaction than a government established by a foreign power against their will....Let us declare that it is our purpose to give aid and direction to the people of those islands to form such a government for themselves."

William Jennings Bryan, Democratic presidential nominee

"A war of conquest is as unwise as it is unrighteous. A harbor and coaling station in the Philippines would answer every trade and military necessity and such a concession could have been secured at any time without difficulty. It is

not necessary to own a people in order to trade with them. We carry on trade today with every part of the world, and our commerce has expanded more rapidly than the commerce of any European empire."

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts

"It is not the policy of the United States to enter, as England has done, upon the general acquisition of distant possessions in all parts of the world. Our government is not adapted to such a policy; but at the same time it must be

remembered that while in the United States themselves we hold the citadel of our power and greatness as a nation, there are outposts essential to the defense of that citadel which must neither be neglected nor abandoned."

Walter Hines Page, editor of The Atlantic Monthly

"Today we are face to face with the sort of problems that have grown up in the management of world empires....Shall we still be content with peaceful industry at home, or does there yet lurk in us the adventurous spirit of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers?...The continued progress of the race in the equalization of opportunity and in well-

being depends on democratic institutions, of which we, under God, are yet, in spite of all our shortcomings, the chief beneficiaries and custodians. Our greatest victory will not be over Spain but over ourselves — to show once more that even in its righteous wrath the republic has the virtue of self-restraint."

BELIEFS AND ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING OPTION 3

1. Our primary goal in determining U.S. policy toward Spain's former colonies should be to promote American economic interests abroad.
2. Creating an empire simply for the sake of empire runs counter to our country's principal interests and core values.
3. Americans must put aside the childish notion that the purpose of U.S. foreign policy is to spread our country's values overseas. On the contrary, U.S. leaders must carefully choose when and where our country becomes involved in international affairs.

ARGUMENTS SUPPORTING OPTION 3

1. Establishing naval bases and fueling stations in strategic locations overseas, such as Manila, will serve as an important instrument in advancing American commercial and security around the world.
2. Controlling Manila's harbor will give American exporters easy access to the Chinese market without burdening our country with the demands of maintaining an empire.
3. Setting up a protectorate over the Philippines will allow the Filipinos to make progress toward self-government without interference from predatory imperialist powers.
4. Asserting America's presence abroad will strengthen U.S. foreign policy efforts to promote an "open door" for international trade in China and elsewhere in Asia.
5. Taking on limited challenges and responsibilities in the world will allow our country to gradually expand its strength and influence.

Epilogue — Imperialism's Bitter Fruit

On February 6, 1899, the U.S. Senate approved the Treaty of Paris of 1898 by a margin of 57 to 27 — just one vote more than the required two-thirds majority. An amendment to grant the Philippines independence once a stable government was established was defeated when Vice President Garrett Hobart cast his tie-breaking vote.

The treaty's ratification was due as much to tactical political maneuvering as to long-term strategic thinking. William Jennings Bryan, McKinley's opponent in the 1896 presidential race and a vocal foe of imperialism, urged Democrats to back the agreement. He hoped that his opposition to the annexation of the Philippines would win him votes against the Republicans in his planned campaign for the presidency in 1900.

INSURRECTION IN THE PHILIPPINES

Even as the Senate was debating the treaty, many of the worst fears of the anti-imperialists were becoming reality. Two days before the Senate vote, an American soldier fired on a Filipino patrol that refused to halt. Tensions between U.S. and Filipino forces had been building for months. The Filipinos had assumed that they would be granted independence after the departure of the Spanish. Meanwhile, U.S. troops had been ordered to establish control over the islands. Within hours of the shooting incident, fighting had spread to much of the area around Manila.

Over the next three years, U.S. forces in the Philippines fought one of our country's most brutal and least remembered wars. Before it ended in mid-1902, 4,200 Americans had been killed in battle and by disease — nearly twice the death toll of the Spanish-American War. Among the Filipinos, 20,000 soldiers were killed and as many as 200,000 civilians died from starvation and disease caused by the war.

The war in the Philippines was far

different than any conflict in which Americans had previously fought. Rather than confronting an organized army, as they had in Cuba, U.S. soldiers faced a quick-striking guerrilla movement. The rules of war that generally prevailed in battles involving Western nations were largely ignored. Both sides tortured and executed prisoners and committed other atrocities. As would be the case in the Vietnam War, the Filipino insurgents, known as *insurrectos*, easily melted into the civilian population in the countryside.

The Filipinos were commanded by Emilio Aguinaldo, the same nationalist figure who had led the struggle against Spain and had praised the United States as "the friend of our people." Aguinaldo's capture in March 1901 marked a turning point in the conflict. He agreed to declare his allegiance to the United States and, in turn, was awarded a pension by the U.S. government.

The Minneapolis Journal, 1899



"Wonder if he can see the point?"

A U.S. soldier confronts a Filipino insurgent with a "peace" treaty.

By then, however, relations between the Americans and the Filipinos had been deeply scarred. To put down the insurrection, the United States adopted many of the same tactics used by the Spanish in Cuba. U.S. commanders routinely punished civilians in response to attacks by Filipino guerrillas. In one of the war's bloodiest episodes, U.S. forces imprisoned virtually the entire population of the small island of Samar after guerrillas had wiped out an American garrison. U.S. troops were given orders to kill all males on the island above the age of ten who had not surrendered. In other areas, Filipino prisoners were executed at random whenever an American soldier was killed.

The role of black troops

As in Cuba, black soldiers played a prominent role in the Philippines. Among the nearly 70,000 U.S. troops who fought in the conflict were two regiments of black volunteers. In response to demands from the African-American community, the War Department appointed black officers to command the volunteers. In addition, all four of the regular army's all-black regiments saw action in the Philippines.

The conflict in the Philippines, however, generated little of the pride among black soldiers that was evident in Cuba. At home, African-American leaders were at the forefront of the backlash against the war. They were especially critical of the racist attitudes that typified the military's view of the Filipinos. Among white troops, officers and enlisted men alike, the Filipinos were often referred to as "niggers."

As long as the impression prevailed in this country that the Filipinos were fighting to throw off the Spanish yoke and seek American annexation, they were called patriots and martyrs, but when they demanded pure and unadulterated independence, they became a set of blood-thirsty barbarians.

—Indianapolis Recorder (black newspaper)

Moreover, black soldiers in the Philippines were subjected to the same discrimination they faced in the United States. They were barred from restaurants,

barber shops, and other facilities marked "white only." Filipino nationalists openly played on the racial divisions within the U.S. army. They distributed posters addressed to the "Colored American Soldier" that reminded blacks of the discrimination they suffered. In fact, the rate of desertion among black soldiers in the Philippines was unusually high. Many of the deserters joined the Filipino insurrection. In 1903, a year after the fighting had ended, there were roughly 500 African-Americans living in the Philippines.

The politics of anti-imperialism

Although the war in the Philippines was generally unpopular among Americans, anti-imperialism faded as a potent political issue. In the presidential race of 1900, Democratic nominee William Jennings Bryan chose to again emphasize economic issues rather than his commitment to grant independence to the Philippines.

Meanwhile, the Republicans had nominated Theodore Roosevelt as McKinley's running mate. Roosevelt remained an outspoken champion of imperialism. Playing up his reputation as a war hero, he seldom missed a chance during the campaign to boast of U.S. achievements overseas. Roosevelt argued that

Detroit News, 1898



Uncle Sam is shown babysitting his new possessions.

the United States was justified in pressing ahead with the war against the Filipinos "because they were killing Americans."

In the end, the return of economic prosperity was most important with voters. McKinley again defeated Bryan, slightly increasing his margin of victory over the 1896 elections.

The rejection of their cause left many anti-imperialists bitter. Leading figures in the movement continued to express their views in the press. Among the most effective critics of imperialism was Mark Twain, America's most famous living writer at the time. Twain used his biting irony and wit to ridicule the stance of the imperialists.

We have been treacherous, but that was only in order that real good might come out of apparent evil. True, we have crushed and deceived a confiding people [the Filipinos]; we have turned against the weak and the friendless who trusted us; we have stamped out a just and intelligent and well-ordered republic;...We have debauched America's honor and blackened her face before the world; but each detail was for the best. We know this. The Head of every State and Sovereignty in Christendom...including our Congress and our ...state legislatures, are members not only of the church but also of the Blessings-of-Civilization Trust. This world-girding accumulation of trained morals, high principles, and justice cannot do an unright thing, an unfair thing, an ungenerous thing, an unclean thing.

—Mark Twain

Imperialism's declining appeal

What neither the imperialists nor the anti-imperialists could foresee was that the age of empire was drawing to a close in the early 20th century. While the United States established a protectorate over Panama in 1903 to pave the way for building the Panama Canal and acquired several small Pacific island groups after World War I, there was little public support in the United States for repeating America's experience in the Philippines. Even Theodore

Roosevelt came to regret annexing the islands, calling them "America's Achilles heel" in 1907.

Thorny legal questions about the status of the Philippines and its inhabitants further complicated America's first steps toward empire. Should the Filipinos be given the same rights of citizenship granted to the inhabitants of the western territories? Should they be protected by the Bill of Rights? Should goods from the Philippines be allowed to enter the United States free of tariffs?

From 1901 to 1904, the Supreme Court addressed these and other questions in fourteen separate decisions known as the "Insular cases." The court held that the Filipinos, as well as the inhabitants of America's other overseas possessions, were entitled to the "fundamental rights" of life, liberty, and property, but could not be guaranteed the procedural rights of the constitution without specific action by Congress. In other words, the local population living in America's newly won empire and in Hawaii did not enjoy the protection of U.S. law.

Politically, the Filipinos remained intent on achieving independence even after their insurrection was defeated. At the same time, the United States rapidly lost its appetite for administering a colony. American officials quickly turned over much of the responsibility for governing the islands to Filipinos. By the 1910s, Filipinos formed a solid majority of their country's bureaucrats. In 1934, the United States granted the Philippines commonwealth status. Under the new arrangement, the Filipinos had nearly complete authority over local issues. Full independence was promised within ten years. Although World War II interrupted the transfer of power, the Philippines finally did gain independence in 1946 — fifty years after the outbreak of the revolt against Spain.

DOMINATION OF THE CARIBBEAN

In the Caribbean, the aftermath of the Spanish-American War produced disappointment among Cubans and Puerto Ricans, but no violence against the United States. The U.S. military occupation of Cuba and Puerto Rico began soon after Spain's surrender. U.S. policy revolved around safeguarding American

business and security interests in the Caribbean. At the same time, American technology and administrative expertise contributed to rapid development on the islands. Roads and telegraph lines were built, finances reorganized, schools opened, sanitation improved, and yellow fever stamped out.

In Puerto Rico, local leaders and U.S. officials were often at odds over the extent of self-government on the island. In 1917, Congress made Puerto Rico a territory and granted its people U.S. citizenship. Puerto Ricans, however, would not win the right to elect their governor and other top officials until 1947. (The Pacific island of Guam, another former Spanish colony transferred to the United States, was administered by a U.S. naval officer until 1950.)

Cuban nationalism

In Cuba, the long nationalist struggle against Spain fueled greater resentment toward U.S. rule. When Cuba's national assembly issued a call for immediate independence in 1900, the McKinley administration sought to slow the momentum of Cuban nationalism. Under a formula crafted largely

by the U.S. State Department, Cuba was to receive independence only after accepting a number of limitations.

The plan, which formed the basis of the Platt Amendment, gave the United States the right to oversee the Cuban economy, exercise veto power over Cuban foreign policy, and intervene whenever necessary "for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty." The United States was also allowed to build a naval base on the southeastern tip of the island at Guantanamo Bay.

News of the proposed amendment sparked demonstrations and protests in Cuba. Nonetheless, the McKinley administration insisted that the Platt Amendment was the price Cubans would have to pay for ending the U.S. military occupation of their island. In 1901, the amendment passed the Cuban assembly by one vote.

The Platt Amendment opened the door to an upsurge of American investment in Cuba's economy. By 1928, U.S. companies produced 75 percent of Cuba's sugar. Cubans who had fought in the independence struggle found few opportunities in an

economy dominated by Americans and recent immigrants from Spain. They came to resent the alliance between foreign businesses and wealthy Cuban plantation owners. Their frustration would later emerge as a powerful force in Cuban politics. Anti-American feelings helped fuel a revolution that brought Fidel Castro to power in 1959. Within two years, Castro had seized American businesses in Cuba and established a communist regime.



President Theodore Roosevelt is depicted as "the world's constable."

Optional Reading: Poetry and Politics — “The White Man’s Burden”

Before the era of television and talk radio, newspapers and magazines were the main forums of political debate in the United States. Editorials, political cartoons, letters to the editors, and even poems were the primary vehicles of opinion. Ironically, the piece of writing that most influenced the debate on American imperialism was written by an Englishman, Rudyard Kipling. Kipling, whose novels enjoyed enormous popularity in the English-speaking world, was a strong supporter of British imperialism and the superiority of Western culture. In early 1899, Kipling composed a poem titled “The White Man’s Burden” that reflected his views on imperialism and race.

As Kipling had intended, “The White Man’s Burden” made an impact on the debate over the Treaty of Paris of 1898. The poem appeared in *McClure’s Magazine* only days before the Senate voted on the treaty and gained immediate attention from U.S. policymakers. In the Senate, the poem was frequently quoted in defense of the treaty. After the treaty was approved, “The White Man’s Burden” continued to spark controversy. Anti-imperialists published numerous responses to the poem, typically in poetic verse. Political cartoonists drew dozens of cartoons based on the images suggested by Kipling. Newspapers printed hundreds of letters to the editor prompted by Kipling’s views. Seldom has a work of art become such a political lightning rod. Below is the poem in its entirety.

The White Man’s Burden

by Rudyard Kipling

Take up the White Man’s burden
Send forth the best ye breed
Go, bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives’ need:
To wait, in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild
Your new-caught sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child.

Take up the White Man’s burden
In patience to abide,
To veil the threat of terror
And check the show of pride;
By open speech and simple,
An hundred times made plain,
To seek another’s profit
And work another’s gain.

Take up the White Man’s burden
The savage wars of peace
Fill full the mouth of Famine,
And bid the sickness cease;
And when your goal is nearest
(The end for others sought)
Watch sloth and heathen folly
Bring all your hope to naught.

Take up the White Man’s burden
No iron rule of kings,
But toil of serf and sweeper
The tale of common things.

The ports ye shall not enter,
The roads ye shall not tread,
Go, make them with your living
And mark them with your dead.

Take up the White Man’s burden,
And reap his old reward
The blame of those ye better
The hate of those ye guard
The cry of hosts ye humour
(Ah, slowly!) toward the light:
“Why brought ye us from bondage,
Our loved Egyptian night?”

Take up the White Man’s burden
Ye dare not stoop to less
Nor call too loud on Freedom
To cloak your weariness,
By all ye will or whisper,
By all ye leave or do,
The silent sullen peoples
Shall weigh your God and you.

Take up the White Man’s burden!
Have done with childish days
The lightly-proffered laurel,
The easy ungrudged praise:
Comes now, to search your manhood
Through all the thankless years,
Cold, edged with dear-bought wisdom,
The judgment of your peers.

Pages 35 to 37 present three of the many poems that were written in response to "The White Man's Burden." As you will see, each brings a different perspective to the anti-imperialist cause.

What Is The White Man's Burden?

by David Greene Haskins, Jr.

What is the White Man's Burden?
O Bard of England, say!
Who laid it on his shoulders?
Who traced his bloody way?
Who gave into his power
The millions o'er the sea?
Dar'st thou to say Jehovah
Has framed such dread decree?

What though ye toil and pray for
An end for others sought;
Yet woe to him who enters
On fields where ye have wrought.
The Russian burden-bearer
Ye face with shell and ball,
What time he looks on India
Across the Afgan's wall.

Ye veil the threat of terror
With cannon's smoky breath,
From whose grim mouths your captives
Are blown to horrid death.
The show of pride — ah! brothers,
Would ye see, as others can,
Your bearing toward the weaker,
Ask them of Hindostan.

Is freedom in the tropics
Less dear than in the North?
Would Bunker Hill, in Asia,
Lose all its patriot worth?
May haughty Saxon armies
Sweep through the Eastern world,
To civilize or murder,
With bloody flags unfurled?

Go, search the blessed Gospels,
And find us, if ye can,
The white man's special warrant
To hunt his fellow-man.

Proclaim your new beatitude,
"Blessed are ye who slay
For love and for humanity
The Arab or Malay."

Am I my brother's keeper,
To keep with bolt and chain,
To civilize with grape-shot;
A missionary Cain?
Nay, Heaven forbid! no keeper
Our weaker brethren crave.
The Malay is our brother:
He may not be our slave.

Call back the conquering armies,
Call back the battle-ships;
Nor preach a bloody gospel
With hypocritic lips.
'Tis not our God who calls us
To conquest o'er the sea;
Nor this the voice that sounded
From far-off Galilee.

Take up a holier burden,
Bring love and help and peace
Among these sullen peoples,
And bid the battle cease.
Go, in the name of Freedom,
And Freedom's mighty Lord.
Go! Bear the cross among them,
And not the gleaming sword!

Fair Mother, thou canst send us
A message nobler far.
Bring Runnymede before us,
And not the Dervish war.
We honor all thy virtues:
We dare not, e'en from thee,
Accept this evil counsel,
The Christian pirate's plea.

Take Up The Black Man's Burden

by J. Dallas Bowser

Take up the Black Man's burden
"Send forth the best ye breed,"
To judge with righteous judgement
The Black Man's work and need,
To set down naught and malice,
In hate or prejudice,
To tell the truth about him,
To paint him as he is.

Take up the Black Man's burden,
Ye of the bold and strong,
And might make right as only
It does no weak race wrong;
When yours — his chances equal,
Give him the fairest test,
Then, "Hands off!" be your motto
And he will do the rest.

Take up the Black Man's burden,
Don't curse him in advance,
He can not lift a White Man's load
Without a White Man's chance;
Shut out from mill and workshop
From counting-room and store,
By caste and labor unions
You close Industry's door.

Take up the Black Man's burden,
Don't crush him with his load;
Nor heap it up in courses
By scoff and jeers bestowed
The haughty Anglo-
Saxon

Was savage and untaught
A thousand years of freedom
A wondrous change has wrought.

Take up the Black Man's burden,
Black men of every clime,
What though your cross be heavy,
Your sun but darkly shine,
Stoop with a freeman's ardor,
Lift high a freeman's head,
Stand with a freeman's firmness,
March with a freeman's tread.

Take up the Black Man's burden,
"Send forth the best ye breed"
To serve as types of progress,
To teach, to pray, to plead.
Let the glory of your people
Be the making of great men,
The lifting of the lowly,
To noble thought and aim.

Take up the Black Man's burden,
Black freeman! stand alone,
If need be! Gird you armor,
For conflicts yet to come;
When weighed be not found wanting,
But find or make a way,
To honor, fame and fortune,
To God and destiny.

"The White Man's Burden"



The Detroit Journal, 1899. (From <http://home.ican.net/~tjzwick>, Jim Zwick, editor.)

Home Burdens Of Uncle Sam

by Anna Manning Comfort

"Take up the white man's burden,"
Yes, Uncle Sam, oh do!
But why seek other countries
Your burdens to renew?
Great questions here confront you.
Then, too, we have a past
Don't pose as a reformer!
Why, nations look aghast!

"Take up the white man's burden,"
But try to lift more true.
Recall the poor wild indian
Whom ruthlessly you slew.
Ignoble was our treatment,
Ungenerous we dealt
With him and his hard burden,
'Tis known from belt to belt.

"Take up the white man's burden,"
The negro, once our slave!
Boast lightly of his freedom,
This problem still is grave.
We scoff and shoot and lynch him,
And yet, because he's black,
We shove him out of office
And crowd him off the track.

"Take up the white man's burden,"
Yes, one of them is sex.
Enslaved are your brave women,
No ballot, while you tax!
Your labors and your conflicts
Columbia's daughters share,
Yet still denied the franchise,
Quick give! be just! deal fair!

"Take up the white man's burden,"
Start in with politics.
Clean out the rotten platform,
Made up of tricks and tricks,
Our politics disgraceful,
In church and school and state.
We have no "ruling bosses,"
Oh, no! the country's great.

"Take up the white man's burden,"
But, oh, if you are wise
You'll seek not "motes" far distant,
with "beams" in your own eyes.
Why fight the foreign despots,
Or Filipino isles?
Come, "scrap it" with "home tyrants!"
And politicians' wiles.

"Take up the white man's burden,"
Right here in our own times.
Give justice, 'tis demanded
This side of distant climes.
Yes, take the white man's burden,
But take it here at home;
With self, oh, Samuel, wrestle,
And cease the seas to roam!

"The White (?) Man's Burden"



Life, 1899. (From <http://home.ican.net/~tjzwick>, Jim Zwick, editor.)

Optional Reading: History's Verdict on the *Maine* Disaster

The explosion which sank the battleship *U.S.S. Maine* and claimed the lives of 260 American sailors in February 1898 was the spark that inflamed war fever in the United States. Once a U.S. Navy court of inquiry asserted that the ship had been sunk by an external explosion, war was almost unavoidable. American public opinion was clearly convinced of Spain's guilt and demanded vengeance.

Even at the time, however, there were doubts about the official report. Three days after the explosion, the navy's leading weapons expert, Professor Philip Alger, said in a newspaper interview that the *Maine* could not have been sunk by an external mine, but rather was probably ripped apart by an internal explosion.

Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt was so furious when he read the interview that he accused Alger of taking "the Spanish side." In a letter to the professor's superior, Roosevelt wrote that "whether probable or not, it certainly is possible that the ship was blown up by a [Spanish] mine." Roosevelt feared that members of Congress who opposed his effort to strengthen the navy would use the incident against him. In fact, two Republican congressional leaders immediately called for a halt to Roosevelt's program to build new battleships.

Historians would later uncover new evidence that essentially cleared Spain of responsibility. The most serious study was published in 1976 by Retired Admiral H.G. Rickover.

After a detailed examination of the *Maine's* wreckage, Rickover concluded that the ship was damaged by an internal explosion. Rickover believed that the explosion had been an accident, most likely caused by the ignition of gunpowder from the heat of a coal fire.

Below is a summary of the eleven main points that Rickover presented to support his findings.

1. An underwater explosion, such as that caused by a mine, typically produces a high plume of water, much like a geyser. None of the observers who witnessed the explosion of the *Maine* reported seeing such a plume.

2. The shock wave of an underwater explosion typically kills a large number of fish. After the *Maine* disaster, few dead fish floated to the surface.

3. Like Rickover, a 1911 naval investigation had concluded that the primary explosion within the *Maine* had occurred in a reserve magazine (a storage area for explosives) containing nearly six tons of gunpowder. The investigators, however, had assumed that a mine had triggered the internal explosion.

4. No mine available in 1898 could have had the explosive power to ignite the *Maine's* magazine, even if the mine had been in contact with the ship's hull. Rickover calculated that only a mine containing at least 100 pounds of explosive power placed directly beneath the *Maine's* magazine could have ignited the gunpowder.

5. Placing a large mine close to the *Maine's* hull

would have been nearly impossible. After the *Maine* dropped anchor in Havana harbor, Captain Charles Sigsbee ordered his sailors to maintain an around-the-clock watch to protect his ship. Small boats were prohibited from approaching the *Maine*. Rickover also rejected the theory that the mine could have been placed before the *Maine's* arrival, since anchored ships drift over large areas depending on tides and wind patterns.

6. The *Maine's* keel (the main structural component of a ship's bottom) had been bent into the shape of an inverted "V" by the explosion. Although investigators in 1898 cited this as evidence of an external explosion, Rickover found none of the mangling of the steel plates that would have been expected.

7. The inverted "V" shape of the keel was much more consistent with a massive internal explosion, which would have lifted and twisted the structure.

8. The gunpowder stored in the *Maine* tended to chemically decompose in warm, humid conditions, leaving it susceptible to spontaneous combustion. In 1907 and 1911, two anchored French battleships



An artist's interpretation of the *Maine* explosion.

magazine that exploded on the *Maine* from the coal bunker (storage compartment) that is believed to have ignited the gunpowder. Captain Sigsbee had filled the *Maine's* bunkers in Virginia with bituminous coal, which was known to be particularly susceptible to spontaneous combustion. (Sigsbee could have opted to load a less combustible fuel, anthracite coal, in Key West, Florida, the *Maine's* last American port of call.)

exploded in similar circumstances.

9. From 1895 to early 1898, there were at least twelve recorded coal fires on U.S. warships. Assistant Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt was so concerned about the problem that in late 1897 he recommended the appointment of a naval board to develop methods for preventing coal fires.

10. Only a single steel wall separated the reserve

no motive to sink the *Maine*. On the contrary, they were eager at the time to repair relations with the United States to avert American intervention in Cuba. The Cuban nationalists did have an interest in provoking the United States to enter the conflict. However, they had neither the means nor the opportunity to sink the ship.

Rickover's study focused on the technical and factual weaknesses of the naval investigation. Other historians have explored how the political atmosphere of early 1898 may have influenced the report's conclusions.

Above all, the naval court of inquiry was under pressure to put forward its findings quickly. The sinking of the *Maine* had, in fact, set in motion a series of preparations for war. Shortly after the explosion, McKinley ordered the military to draw up plans to fight Spain. On March 9, 1898, both houses of Congress unanimously approved his request to add \$50 million to the defense budget.

By the time the naval inquiry wrapped up its work on March 21, McKinley had little room to retreat. He had been kept informed of the inquiry's progress since late February and the final report contained no surprises for him when it reached the president's desk on March 25. The following day, McKinley instructed the U.S. ambassador in Madrid to demand that Spain grant Cuba full independence. War was indeed inevitable.

Chronology

1893

- January • U.S. Marines assist American businessmen in overthrowing Hawaii's queen
- March • President Cleveland withdraws the treaty, submitted by his predecessor, which would have annexed Hawaii.

1894

- July • Congress imposes tariffs on imported Cuban sugar, contributing to an economic depression in Cuba.

1895

- February • A new revolt against Spanish rule breaks out in Cuba.
- July • The United States forces Britain to back down in a dispute with Venezuela. U.S. leaders declare that their country is "practically sovereign" in the Western Hemisphere.

1896

- February • Spanish General Weyler establishes "reconcentration" camps in Cuba in an attempt to put down the Cuban revolt.
- May • Spain rejects an American offer to help end the conflict in Cuba.
- August • A revolt against Spanish rule breaks out in the Philippines.
- November • Republicans win control of Congress and the White House.

1897

- June • President McKinley submits a new treaty to the Senate to annex Hawaii.
- November • The Spanish government recalls General Weyler and eases its harsh measures against Cuban civilians.

1898

- February • A private letter from the Spanish ambassador to Washington criticizing McKinley is printed in American newspapers.
- The *U.S.S. Maine* is blown up in Havana harbor
- March • Congress approves McKinley's request for \$50 million to begin preparations for war.
- April • Spain proposes a truce in Cuba but rejects U.S. offers to mediate the Cuban revolt.
- Congress proclaims Cuba independent and authorizes McKinley to use force.
- Spain declares war on the United States.
- May • U.S. warships destroy the Spanish fleet in Manila harbor.
- June • Guam is occupied by the U.S. Navy.
- An American invasion force lands in Cuba.
- July • U.S. forces overcome Spanish defenses guarding Santiago, Cuba.
- U.S. warships destroy Spain's Caribbean fleet.
- Spanish forces in Puerto Rico surrender.
- Congress approves the annexations of Hawaii.
- The Spanish government requests peace negotiations.
- August • The United States and Spain sign a preliminary peace treaty.

-
- | | |
|-------------|--|
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• U.S. and Filipino forces capture Manila. |
| October | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• McKinley sends a negotiating team to Paris to finalize a peace treaty with Spain.• The Anti-Imperialist League is organized in the United States. |
| November | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• U.S. negotiators demand that the United States be given full control of the Philippines. |
| December | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Spain agrees to U.S. demands, signing the Treaty of Paris of 1898. |
| 1899 | |
| February | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Fighting breaks out between Filipino nationalists and U.S. forces occupying the Philippines.• The Senate ratifies the Treaty of Paris of 1898. |
| September | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The United States reaffirms the "open door" policy toward China. |
| 1901 | |
| March | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Emilio Aguinaldo, leader of the Filipino nationalists, is captured by U.S. forces. Aguinaldo pledges his allegiance to the United States. |
| 1935 | |
| November | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The Philippine Commonwealth is established. The United States promises to grant the Philippines independence within ten years. |
| 1941 | |
| December | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Japan attacks Pearl Harbor, prompting the United States to enter World War II. |
| 1942 | |
| May | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Japan captures the Philippines from U.S. forces. |
| 1944 | |
| October | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The United States recaptures the Philippines from Japan. |
| 1946 | |
| July | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The United States grants the Philippines complete independence. |

Suggested Reading

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- Zwick, Jim, ed., *Anti-Imperialism in the United States, 1898-1935* (<http://home.ican.net/~fjzwick>).

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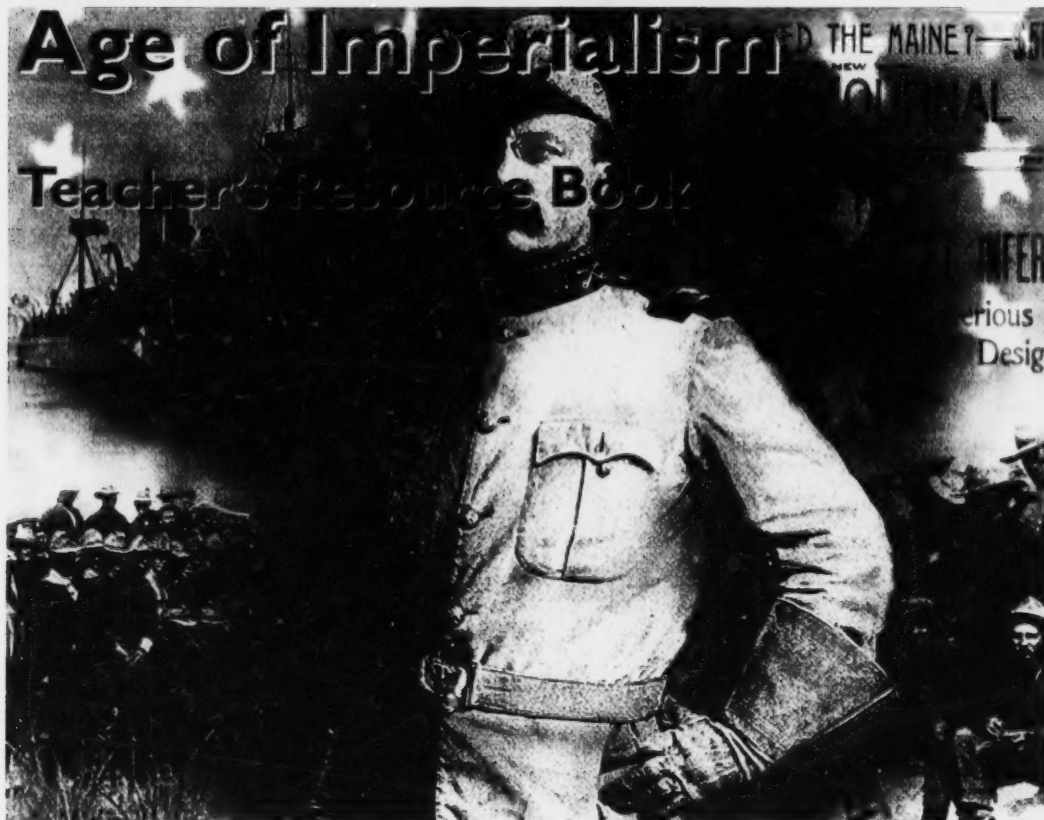
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THE CHOICES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY EDUCATION PROJECT is a program of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies at Brown University. CHOICES was established to help citizens think constructively about foreign policy issues, to improve participatory citizenship skills, and to encourage public judgment on policy priorities.

THE THOMAS J. WATSON JR. INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES was established at Brown University in 1986 to serve as a forum for students, faculty, visiting scholars, and policy practitioners, who are committed to studying global problems and developing international initiatives to benefit society.

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About the Choices Approach

Choices for the 21st Century curricula are designed to make complex international issues understandable and meaningful for students. Using an innovative approach to student-centered instruction, Choices units develop critical thinking and civic judgment — essential ingredients of responsible citizenship.

Understanding the Significance of History: Each Choices unit provides students with a thorough introduction to the topic under consideration. Students gain an understanding of the historical background and the status of current issues. In this way, they see how history has shaped our world. With this foundation, students are prepared to thoughtfully consider a variety of perspectives on public policy.

Exploring Policy Alternatives: Each Choices unit is built around a framework of alternative policy options that challenges students to consider multiple perspectives and to think critically about the issue at hand. Students are best able to understand and analyze the options through a cooperative learning/role-play activity. In groups, students explore their assigned options and plan short presentations. The setting of the role-play may be a Congressional hearing, meeting of the National Security Council, or an election campaign forum. Student groups defend their policy options and, in turn, are challenged with questions from their classmates. The ensuing debate demands analysis and evaluation of the many conflicting values, interests, and priorities reflected in the options.

Exercising Civic Judgment: Armed with fresh insights from the role-play and debate, students are challenged to articulate original, coherent policy options that reflect their own values, priorities, and goals as individuals and citizens. Students' views can be expressed in letters to Congress or the White House, editorials for the school or community newspaper, persuasive speeches, or visual presentations.

Why Use the Choices Approach? Choices curricula are informed by current educational research about how students learn best. Studies have consistently demonstrated that students of all abilities learn best when they are actively engaged with the material rather than listening passively to a lecture. Student-centered instructional activities motivate students and develop higher-order thinking skills. However, some high school educators find the transition from lecture format to student-centered instruction difficult. Lecture is often viewed as the most efficient way to cover the required material. Choices curricula offer teachers a flexible resource for covering course material while actively engaging students and developing skills in critical thinking, persuasive writing, and informed citizenship. The instructional activities that are central to Choices units can be valuable components in any teacher's repertoire of effective teaching strategies. Each Choices unit includes student readings, a framework of policy options, suggested lesson plans, and resources for structuring cooperative learning, role-plays, and simulations. Students are challenged to:

- recognize relationships between history and current issues
- analyze and evaluate multiple perspectives on an issue
- understand the internal logic of a viewpoint
- engage in informed debate
- identify and weigh the conflicting values represented by different points of view
- reflect upon personal values and priorities surrounding an issue
- develop and articulate original viewpoints on an issue
- communicate in written and oral presentations
- collaborate with peers

Teachers who use Choices units say the collaboration and interaction that take place are highly motivating for students. Opportunities abound for students to contribute their individual talents to the group presentations in the form of political cartoons, slogans, posters, or characterizations. These cooperative learning lessons invite students to take pride in their own contributions and the group product, enhancing students' self-esteem and confidence as learners. Choices units offer students with diverse abilities and learning styles the opportunity to contribute, collaborate, and achieve.

Note to Teachers

"I donned my heroic armor, seized the long spears in both my hands and marched out on the half deck, forward, hoping from there to catch the first glimpse of Scylla, ghoul of the cliffs....Now wailing in fear, we rowed on up those straits, Scylla to starboard, dreaded Charybdis to port." (Odyssey, book twelve.)

The challenge of teaching 400 years of American history in a single school year has been part of the high school history teacher's job for several generations. It has never been easy, but in recent years teachers have been increasingly squeezed between conflicting demands. On one side is mounting pressure, driven by the proliferation of state assessment tests and state-mandated curricula, to cover ever more material. On the other side is the growing expectation that students should be taught to critically analyze the past and apply the lessons of history to issues facing our democratic society today. Like a modern Odysseus, the teacher is called on to somehow navigate between the Scylla of "broad coverage" and the Charybdis of "thorough analysis" in the course of nine harrowing months.

Reluctant Colossus: America Enters the Age of Imperialism is intended to help teachers make the voyage safely and successfully. As with all Choices historical units, *Reluctant Colossus: America Enters the Age of Imperialism* relies on primary source material to bring alive the controversies of the past and to allow students to participate in the critical decisions of our nation's history. The period examined in the unit — the Spanish-American War and its aftermath — is especially relevant to the United States today. As we enter the 21st century, America is again undergoing the process of soul-searching that inevitably accompanies important chronological milestones. We are pondering who we are as a nation and which values should shape our future. Race and class divisions continue to be enmeshed with questions involving economic and foreign policy.

In the late 1890s, the Spanish-American War and its aftermath brought many of these same concerns to the forefront of American society. In an era of jarring economic, technological, and social change, Americans were compelled to re-examine their national identity and their country's role in the world. The decisions that emerged from the period formed the foundation for America's dominant role in world politics and economics in the 20th century. Pearl Harbor, the Cuban missile crisis, our experience in Vietnam, and even the current debate over trade with China all stem from actions taken in 1898-99. By weighing the values underlying the policy choices at the turn of the century, students acquire the tools to critically assess key issues today and to clarify their own views about our country's direction.

Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan: The Teacher's Resource Book accompanying *Reluctant Colossus: America Enters the Age of Imperialism* contains a day-by-day lesson plan and student activities. The unit opens with an optional lesson that examines how the changes taking place in U.S. society in the 1890s shaped America's outlook on the world. Day One analyzes the values of the era through the voice of Theodore Roosevelt. The Day Two lesson explores the attitudes of the contemporary African-American community toward imperialism, racism, and the contributions of black soldiers. On Days Three and Four, students take part in a simulation set in the fall of 1898 that considers America's position toward Spain's former colonies. On the fifth day of the lesson plan, they assess the historical lessons of the Spanish-American War era. Two concluding optional lessons add a further dimension to the unit. The first plunges students into the controversies stirred by Rudyard Kipling's "The White Man's Burden" and the poetic rebuttals that followed. The second probes the ground-breaking historical evidence about the sinking of *Maine* featured in the study of Retired Admiral H.G. Rickover. You may also find the "Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan" useful.

The lesson plan offered in *Reluctant Colossus: America Enters the Age of Imperialism* is a guide. Ultimately, teachers are in the best position to adapt the lessons to fit the needs and intellectual appetites of their students. We hope that these suggestions help you in tailoring the unit to fit the needs of your classroom.

Integrating This Unit into Your Curriculum

Units produced by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Project are designed to be integrated into a variety of social studies courses. Below are a few ideas about how to fit *Reluctant Colossus: America Enters the Age of Imperialism* into your curriculum.

Race Relations: The issues raised by the Spanish-American War provide a unique opportunity to examine the subject of race relations in the United States. Race was a critical factor in how Americans perceived the Spanish-American War, the insurrection in the Philippines, and American imperialism. The African-American community hoped that the contribution of black soldiers to the war effort would mark a turning point in the struggle for equality. Regrettably, they were to be disappointed. For most other Americans, racial attitudes influenced how they perceived the peoples of our country's newly won empire. The principles of social Darwinism and "scientific racism" were an integral part of the debate on America's role in the world.

Revisiting the Vietnam War: The parallels between the Filipino insurrection and the Vietnam War are striking. In both wars, the United States stepped in after a conflict between local rebels and European colonial forces. As in Vietnam, U.S. troops in the Philippines were ordered to take military action despite Washington's lack of a long-term strategy and soon found themselves bogged down in a demoralizing, village-to-village struggle. Yet, U.S. leaders of the Vietnam era drew few lessons from the experience of their turn-of-the-century counterparts. *Reluctant Colossus: American Enters the Age of Imperialism* provides students a broader context for assessing the Vietnam War and sets the stage for discussing U.S. intervention in international conflicts today.

A Mirror into the 21st Century: The United States at the turn of the 19th century was a nation undergoing a jarring transformation. Industrialization and globalization were changing the way Americans fit into the economy. Technology was reshaping society at a breakneck pace. Large-scale immigration was adding new cultures and mindsets to the American experiment. Anxiety, optimism, insecurity, and self-confidence all mixed uneasily in the national consciousness. The challenges Americans faced at the time were in many respects similar to those confronting our country today. As the United States enters the 21st century, analyzing the previous turn of the century allows students to take stock of our country's past and to look into the future with greater insight.

The Age of Imperialism: The Spanish-American War occurred at the high-water mark of European imperialism. At the time, there were only a handful of countries in what was to become the developing world that had not fallen under European domination. Within half a century, however, the imperialist system had begun to crumble. *Reluctant Colossus: American Enters the Age of Imperialism* offers students a springboard for probing the legacy of imperialism. The unit also lays the foundation for the study of North-South relations since decolonization and America's current role in the developing world.

America and the World in the 1890s

Objectives:

Students will:

- Identify the changes shaping America's international outlook in the 1890s.
- Analyze the impact of immigration on America's national character in the 1890s.
- Assess the forces contributing to America's evolving self-image today.

Required Reading:

Before the lesson, students should have read "Optional Reading: Growing Pains — America in the 1890s" (pages 1-6 of the student text) and completed "Study Guide — Optional Reading" (page 4 of the teacher's guide).

Handouts:

- "America Looks Abroad" (pages 5-8 of the teacher's guide) for each of the eight small groups.

In the Classroom:

1. *Race and National Character* — Call on students to identify the factors shaping America's outlook toward the rest of the world in the 1890s. In what respects did Americans see themselves as different from Europeans or from non-Western societies? How did the racial attitudes of the period influence American perceptions of other nations and cultures? Why was the influx of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe widely seen as a threat to America's national identity and values?

2. *Forming Small Groups* — Divide the class into eight groups and distribute "America Looks Abroad" to each group. Review the instructions with the class. Assign each group one of the handout's eight selections. Choose a student from each group to serve as the group spokesperson.

3. *Sharing Conclusions* — After the groups have studied their selections, call on the group spokespersons to share their conclusions. How did shifting immigration patterns in the late 1800s affect American attitudes toward other peoples? How did the theories of social Darwinism color America's international outlook, especially in the area of foreign policy?

4. *Connecting to the Present* — Note that economic globalization, technological breakthroughs, and an upsurge in immigration have combined in recent decades to increase our country's contact with the rest of the world. How have these and other forces changed America's international outlook and self-image? In what respects does the United States remain more inward-looking than other countries? Ask students to share their impressions of how other nations see us. What do they believe are the dominant elements of America's image abroad? How do they expect America's image to change in coming decades?

Study Guide — Optional Reading

Growing Pains — The United States in the 1890s

1. Identify five important changes that transformed America in the 19th century.
 - a. _____
 - b. _____
 - c. _____
 - d. _____
 - e. _____
2. How did the economic depression that began in 1893 deepen the divisions in American society? Which groups suffered the most during the depression?
3. What were the values associated with the American frontier? Why did many Americans fear that the closing of the frontier would harm America's national character?
4. How did the theories of social Darwinism lend support to the cause of American imperialism?
5. Summarize the arguments supporting and opposing America's annexation of Hawaii. Which arguments appealed to American values? Which arguments were based on promoting national interests?
 - a. *American values*
 - b. *National interests*
6. Why was the presidential election of 1896 seen as a contest between two competing value systems?

America Looks Abroad

Introduction: As you learned in Part I of the background reading, America's outlook toward the rest of the world in the 1890s was closely related to national identity, race, and ethnicity.

At the time, immigration, the increase in global trade, and the rise of European imperialism were chipping away at America's sense of isolation. In particular, a new wave of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe was seen by many Americans as a threat to the strength and character of their country. America's national identity seemed to be changing before their eyes. At the same time, there was a growing belief that the United States could no longer remain isolated from the conflicts, challenges, and opportunities of the outside world. As never before, Americans were taking a serious look abroad.

The eight selections that follow reflect a range of American attitudes toward the rest of the world in the late 19th century. As you will see, many of them focus on the new wave of immigrants entering the United States. Others address America's often uneasy relationship with the outside world. Your group has been assigned one of the selections to analyze. As you examine your assigned selection, consider the questions below. Be prepared to share the conclusions of your group with your classmates.

1. What is the general attitude of the author toward the outside world?
2. How does the author expect the United States to be changed by increased contact with the outside world?
3. Which elements of America's national character would the author value most highly?

Selection 1 — The New Colossus by Emma Lazarus

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
Glow's world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command
The air-bridged harbor that twice cities frame.
"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me:
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

Selection 2 — Unguarded Gates by Thomas Bailey Aldrich

Wide open and unguarded stand our gates,
And through them presses a wild motley throng —
Men from the Volga and the Tartar steppes,
Featureless figures from the Hoang-Ho,
Malayan, Scythian, Teuton, Kelt, and Slav,
Flying the Old World's poverty and scorn;
These bringing with them unknown gods and rites,
Those, tiger passions, here to stretch their claws.
In street and alley what strange tongues are loud,
Accents of menace alien to our air,
Voices that once the Tower of Babel knew!

O Liberty, white Goddess! is it well
To leave the gates unguarded? On thy breast
Fold Sorrow's children, soothe the hurts of fate,
Lift the down-trodden, but with hand of steel
Stay those who to thy sacred portals come
To waste the gifts of freedom. Have a care
Lest from thy brow the clustered stars be torn
And trampled in the dust. For so of old
The thronging Goth and Vandal trampled Rome,
And where the temples of the Caesars stood
The lean wolf unmolested made her lair.

Selection 3 — Growth of Our Foreign Policy
by Richard Olney

"The isolation policy and practice have tended to belittle the national character, have led to a species of provincialism and to narrow views of our duties and functions as a nation....They have induced in the people at large an illiberal and unintelligent attitude towards foreigners constantly shown in the disparagement of other peoples, in boastings of our own superiority, and in a sense of complete irresponsibility for anything uttered or written to their injury. This attitude of the people at large has naturally been reflected in their representatives in public life, while in officials brought in direct contact with foreign affairs it has often been even greatly intensified. Apparently, in their anxiety not to fall below the pitch of popular sentiment, they have been led to strike a note altogether beyond it. Hence have come, only too frequently and on but slight pretexts, violent diatribes against foreign governments and gross abuse of their peoples and institutions, not merely on the hustings, but on the floor of the senate or house; not merely by unknown solicitors of votes but by public officials in stations so prominent as to give to their utterances an air of real significance."

Selection 4 — The Proposed Dual Organization of Mankind
by William Graham Sumner

"The discovery, colonization, and exploitation of the outlying continents [North America, South America, and Australia] have been the most important elements in modern history. We Americans live in one of the great commonwealths which have been created by it....In our own history we have been, first, one of the outlying communities which were being exploited, and then ourselves an old civilization exploiting outlying regions.

"The process of extension from Europe has gone on with the majesty and necessity of a process of nature. Nothing in human history can compare with it as unfolding of the drama of human life on earth under the aspects of growth, reaction, destruction, new development, and higher integration....The extension of the higher civilization over the globe is a natural process in which we are all swept along in spite of our ethical judgments. Those men, civilized or uncivilized, who cannot or will not come into the process will be crushed under it. It is as impossible that the present and future exploitation of Africa should not go on as it is that the present inhabitants of Manhattan Island should return to Europe and let the red man come back to his rights again."

Selection 5 — Innocents Abroad
by Mark Twain

"Wherever we went, in Europe, Asia, or Africa, we made a sensation.... None of us had ever been any where before; we all hailed from the interior; travel was a wild novelty to us, and we conducted ourselves in accordance with the natural instincts that were in us, and trammelled ourselves with no ceremonies, no conventionalities. We always took care to make it understood that we were Americans — Americans! When we found that a good many foreigners had hardly ever heard of America, and that a good many more knew it only as a barbarous province away off somewhere, that had lately been at war with somebody, we pitied the ignorance of the Old World, but abated no jot of our importance....The people stared at us every where, and we stared at them. We generally made them feel rather small, too, before we got done with them, because we bore down on them with America's greatness until we crushed them."

Selection 6 — Race and Immigration
by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge

"When we speak of race we mean the moral and intellectual characters, which in their association make up the soul of a race and which represent the product of all its past, the inheritance of all its ancestors, and the motives of all its conduct. The men of each race possess an indestructible stock of ideas, traditions, sentiments, modes of thought, an unconscious inheritance upon which argument has no effect. These are the qualities which determine their social efficiency as a people, which make one race rise and another fall.

"It is on the moral qualities of the English-speaking race that our history, our victories, and all our future rest. There is only one way in which you can lower those qualities or weaken those characteristics and that is by breeding them out. If a lower race mixes with a higher in sufficient numbers, history teaches us that the lower race will prevail....There is a limit to the capacity of any race for assimilating and elevating an inferior race, and when you begin to pour in unlimited numbers of people of alien or lower races of less social efficiency and less moral force, you are running the most frightful risk that any people can run. The lowering of a great race means not only its own decline but that of human civilization."

Selection 7 — Restriction of Immigration
by Francis A. Walker

"Only a short time ago, the immigrants from southern Italy, Hungary, Austria, and Russia together made up hardly more than one per cent of our immigration. To-day the proportion has risen to something like forty per cent, and threatens soon to become fifty or sixty per cent, or even more. The entrance into our political, social, and industrial life of such vast masses of peasantry, degraded below our utmost conceptions, is a matter which no intelligent patriot can look upon without the gravest apprehension and alarm. These people have no history behind them which is of a nature to give encouragement. They have none of the inherited instincts and tendencies which made it comparatively easy to deal with the immigration of the olden time. They are beaten men from beaten races; representing the worst failures in the struggle for existence. Centuries are against them, as centuries were on the side of those who formerly came to us. They have none of the ideas and aptitudes which fit men to take up readily and easily the problem of self-care and self-government, such as belong to those who are descended from the tribes that met under the oak-trees of old Germany to make laws and choose chieftains."

Selection 8 — Political Cartoons



Identifying Core Values

Objectives:

Students will:

- Analyze how the values of the 1890s shaped the policy decisions of the era.
- Compare the values of the 1890s with those of today.
- Assess the factors that have contributed to changes in American values since the 1890s.
- Identify the values reflected in primary source material.

Required Reading:

Before beginning the unit, students should have read Part I of the background reading (pages 7-13 of the student text) and completed "Study Guide — Part I" (page 10 of the teacher's guide).

Handouts:

- "Theodore Roosevelt and the Cult of Heroic Virility" (page 11 of the teacher's guide) for each of the eight small groups.
- "Selections from the Speeches and Writings of Theodore Roosevelt" (pages 12-14 of the teacher's guide) for the appropriate small groups.

In the Classroom:

1. *Forming Small Groups* — Divide the class into eight groups and distribute "Theodore Roosevelt and the Cult of Heroic Virility" to each group. Review the instructions with the class. Emphasize that Roosevelt has become more closely associated with the Spanish-American War era than any other historical figure and that his views left a deep impression on America's self-image at the time. Assign each group one of the eight selections from Roosevelt's speeches and writings. Distribute the appropriate section of "Selections from the Speeches and Writings of Theodore Roosevelt" to each group. Choose a student from each group to serve as the group spokesperson.

2. *Sharing Conclusions* — After the groups have studied their selections, call on the group spokespersons to present the values they identified and to assess their resonance in our own society. Invite other members of the class to comment on the assessments. Ask students to explain the meaning of the "Cult of Heroic Virility." Were Roosevelt's views representative of the values of his age?

3. *Making Connections* — Ask student to identify current national figures — either real or fictional — who express the core values of our own society. Do the figures identified by students share a common set of values? Has the increasing fragmentation and diversity of America been accompanied by a breakdown in common values?

4. *Seeking Explanations* — Invite students to assess the factors that have contributed to changes in American values since the 1890s. Which factors have been most important? In what respects has the change in values made the United States a better nation? In what areas have we declined? How does the shift in values in the United States compare to changes that have taken place elsewhere in the world, especially in other developed countries? Call on students to find sections in their social studies textbooks that address the subject of shifting values. Why is it a difficult subject for historians to tackle?

Homework:

Students should read Part II of the background reading (pages 14-18 of the student text) and complete "Study Guide — Part II" (page 16 of the teacher's guide).

Study Guide — Part I

The Spanish-American War

1. How was the United States connected to Cuba in the 1890s? How did the United States contribute to the outbreak of the Cuban revolt in 1895?
2. What were the main reasons the United States intervened in Cuba? Which reason do you believe was most important? Explain your answer.
3. What factors prompted Congress to pass the "Teller Amendment"? What does the amendment reveal about American attitudes at the outset of the Spanish-American War?
4. Why does the Spanish-American War rank among the most popular wars in U.S. history?
5. Why did Emilio Aguinaldo feel that the United States supported his campaign for Filipino independence when he declared himself the head of a temporary revolutionary government?
6. Why do you think the Spanish-American War was called "a splendid little war" by an American diplomat at the time? Do you think we could have a "splendid little war" today? Explain your answer.

Theodore Roosevelt and the Cult of Heroic Virility

Introduction: "Values" are beliefs and principles that form the basis of our identity and guide our action. Some values, such as bravery, honesty, and responsibility, describe personal characteristics. Others, such as freedom, equality, and democracy, reflect abstract ideals. Values like patriotism, loyalty to family, and humanitarianism shape our relationships with the rest of the world. Another set of values, which includes power, justice, truth, recognition, and wealth, may serve as goals and priorities.

While values vary from person to person, societies generally hold a core of shared values that are typically transmitted through their schools, media, and political leaders. In the 1890s, the core values of the United States differed markedly from those of our country today. Theodore Roosevelt, America's youngest and, in many respects, most energetic president, embodied many of the core values of his time. Although often controversial, Roosevelt enjoyed immense popularity, suggesting that most Americans supported the values he embraced.

Your assignment: In this activity, you will explore Roosevelt's values and compare them with the values Americans hold today. Your group has been assigned a selection from Roosevelt's speeches and letters. First, read the selection carefully and identify the three or four most prominent values. Then, express the values in your own language. For example, consider beginning your sentences with "A person should...." or "It is important to....". Finally, indicate how, in your group's opinion, Americans today would respond to the values you have identified. A spokesperson from your group should be prepared to share your conclusions with the class.

Values Identified

Value 1:

How widely accepted is this value today?

- ☐ Widely accepted
- ☐ Accepted by many, but not by a majority
- ☐ Not widely accepted

Value 2:

How widely accepted is this value today?

- ☐ Widely accepted
- ☐ Accepted by many, but not by a majority
- ☐ Not widely accepted

Value 3:

How widely accepted is this value today?

- ☐ Widely accepted
- ☐ Accepted by many, but not by a majority
- ☐ Not widely accepted

Value 4:

How widely accepted is this value today?

- ☐ Widely accepted
- ☐ Accepted by many, but not by a majority
- ☐ Not widely accepted

Selections from the Speeches and Writings of Theodore Roosevelt

Selection 1

"I would give anything if President McKinley would order the fleet to Havana tomorrow. The *Maine* was sunk by an act of dirty treachery on the part of the Spaniards....The President has no more backbone than a chocolate eclair." (*Private conversations before the Spanish-American War*)

"I abhor unjust war. I should never advocate war unless it were the only alternative." (*Roosevelt's autobiography*)

"I suppose it will be two or three days before I get off. I am awfully afraid we shall miss the first expedition....It will be awful if we miss the fun." (*Letter written while waiting to be transported to Cuba with his regiment*)

Selection 2

"I would regard a war with Spain from two viewpoints: First, the advisability on the ground both of humanity and self interest of interfering on behalf of the Cubans, and of taking one more step toward the complete freeing of America from European domination; second, the benefit done to our people by giving them something to think about which isn't material gain, and especially the benefit done our military forces by trying both the Army and Navy in actual practice. I should be very sorry not to see us make the experiment of trying to land, and therefore to feed and clothe, an expeditionary force, if only for the sake of learning from our blunders. I should hope that the force would have some fighting to do. It would be a great lesson." (*Private correspondence in November 1897*)

Selection 3

"Only those are fit to live who do not fear to die; and none are fit to die who have shrunk from the joy of life. Both life and death are parts of the same Great Adventure. Never yet was worthy adventure worthily carried through by the man who put his personal safety first. All of us who give service, and stand ready for sacrifice, are the torchbearers. We run with the torches until we fall, content if we can pass them to the hands of other runners. The torches whose flame is brightest are borne by the gallant men at the front, by the gallant women whose husbands and lovers, whose sons and brothers are at the front. These men are high of soul, as they face their fate on the shell-shattered earth, or in the skies above or in the waters beneath; and no less high of soul are the women with torn hearts and shining eyes; the girls whose boy-lovers have been struck down in their golden morning, and the mothers and wives to whom word has been brought that henceforth they must walk in the shadow. These are the torch-bearers; these are they who have dared the Great Adventure." (*Eulogy written by Roosevelt for his son Quentin, who was killed in World War I*)

Selection 4

"It is not the critic who counts, not the man who points out where the strong stumbled, or how the doer could have done better. The credit belongs to the man who is in the arena, his face marred by dust and sweat and blood, who strives valiantly, who errs and falls short again and again: There is no effort without error. But he who tries, who knows the great enthusiasm, the great devotions, who spends himself in a worthy cause, at best knows the triumph of achievement, and at worst, fails while daring. His place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who know neither victory or defeat." (*Roosevelt's autobiography*)

Selection 5

"(Speaking to his aides) I will make this speech or die. It is one thing or the other."

"(Speaking to the audience) It is true I am going to ask you to be very quiet and please excuse me from making a long speech. I'll do the best I can, but there is a bullet in my body. It is nothing, I am not hurt badly. I have a message to deliver and will deliver it as long as there is life in my body."

It matters little about me but it matters about the cause we fight for. If one soldier who carries the flag is stricken, another will take it from his hands and carry it on. Tell the people not to worry about me, for if I go down another will take my place."

(Roosevelt during the presidential campaign of 1912 after being shot in the chest by a would-be assassin)

Selection 6

Question: How did you know that substantial justice was done?

Roosevelt: Because I did it, because I was doing my best.

Question: You mean to say that when you do a thing thereby substantial justice is done?

Roosevelt: I do. When I do a thing I do it so as to do substantial justice. I mean just that.

(Testimony in a civil trial, 1915)

"I have always been fond of the West African proverb: 'Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far.'" (Private correspondence, February 1900)

"I am interested in the Panama Canal because I started it. If I had followed conventional, conservative methods, I should have submitted a dignified state paper to the Congress and the debate would have been going on yet, but I took the canal zone and let Congress debate, and while the debate goes on the canal does also." (Speech, 1911)

"Dealing with senators is at times excellent training for the temper, but upon my word dealing with these peace envoys has been an even tougher job. To be polite and sympathetic and patient in explaining for the hundredth time something perfectly obvious, when I really want to give utterance to whoops of rage and jump up and knock their heads together — well, all I can hope is that the self-repression will be ultimately good for my character." (Comment made to French ambassador while mediating the settlement of the Russo-Japanese War, 1905)

Selection 7

"No danger exists of an over-development of warlike spirit; the danger is of precisely the opposite character. A wealthy nation, slothful, timid, or unwieldy, is an easy prey for any people which still retains the most valuable of all qualities, the soldierly virtues. Peace is a goddess only when she comes with sword girt on thigh. The ship of state can be steered safely only when it is always possible to bring her against any foe." (Speech as assistant secretary of the navy, 1897)

"Towards all other nations, large and small, our attitude must be one of cordial and sincere friendship. We must show not only in our words but in our deeds that we are earnestly desirous of securing their good will by acting toward them in a spirit of just and generous recognition of their rights. But justice and generosity in a nation, as in an individual, count most when shown not by the weak but by the strong." (Inaugural address, March 1905)

Selection 8

"Viewed purely in the abstract, I think there can be no question that women should have equal rights with men. A cripple or a consumptive in the eye of the law is equal to the strongest athlete or the deepest thinker; and the same justice should be shown to a woman whether she is, or is not, the equal of man. A son should have no more right to any inheritance than a daughter should have. Especially as regards the laws relating to marriage there should be the most absolute equality preserved between the sexes. I do not think the woman should assume the man's name."
(Harvard senior dissertation, 1880)

"Among all the evils in America the worst is the diminishing birth rate among the old native American stock. [Anyone who does not want to have children] is a criminal against the race, the object of contemptuous abhorrence by healthy people. Willful sterility [birth control] is more debasing than ordinary vice.

A boy should be brought up to use his fighting instincts on the side of righteousness; one should punish anything like cowardice. I am the father of three boys and if I thought that any one of them would weigh a possible broken bone against the glory of being chosen to play on Harvard's football team I would disinherit him." *(Comments made to friends)*

The African-American Community in the Age of Imperialism

Objectives:

Students will:

- Analyze attitudes of the African-American community toward the Spanish-American War and the acquisition of the Philippines.
- Compare the views of the African-American community with those of U.S. leaders.
- Assess the editorial style and tone of turn-of-the-century black newspapers.

Required Reading:

Students should have read Part II of the background reading (pages 14-18 of the student text) and completed "Study Guide — Part II" (page 16 of the teacher's guide).

Handouts:

- "Black Americans and the Spanish-American War" (page 17 of the teacher's guide).
- "The Black Press and American Imperialism" (pages 18-22 of the teacher's guide).

In the Classroom:

1. *African-American Attitudes* — Call on students to draw on Part II of the background reading to explain the attitudes of the African-American community toward the Spanish-American War and the acquisition of the Philippines. What factors contributed to black perceptions? How did the attitudes of black Americans differ from those of whites?
2. *Forming Small Groups* — Divide the class into five groups and distribute "Black Americans and the Spanish-American War." Review the instructions with the class. Emphasize that the activity is designed to illustrate both the range of African-American attitudes and their evolution from 1898 to 1900. Assign each group one of the five sets of selections in "The Black Press and American Imperialism" and distribute the appropriate sections of the handout to the groups. Choose a student from each group to serve as the group spokesperson.
3. *Analyzing the Black Press* — After the groups have studied their selections, call on the group spokespersons to quickly summarize attitudes within the African-American community during each of the five periods under consideration. How did black attitudes change over time? What developments prompted the changes? Ask students to assess how the tone of the African-American press would have likely differed from that of the mainstream press.
4. *Race in Today's Military* — Note that the military has often been seen as an avenue of opportunity for African-Americans. At the same time, black soldiers have long faced discrimination and racism in the armed services. Ask students how they perceive the role of the military with respect to racial issues. Do they feel that the military has helped break down racial barriers? Should affirmative action be pursued more vigorously in the military to expand the ranks of black officers? Point out that, beginning with the Vietnam War, blacks have suffered a disproportionately higher rate of casualties in defense of our country. Are students concerned that few young people from affluent families volunteer for military service? Should America's defense policy be changed to narrow the racial disparity?

Homework:

Students should read "Fall 1898: America at the Crossroads" (page 19 of the student text).

Study Guide — Part II

Race and American Society in the 1890s

1. What means were used to enforce white supremacy in the South in the late 1800s?
2. Why was the Plessy v. Ferguson decision considered a crucial setback for the cause of racial equality?
3. What were the main differences in the positions of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois?
4. How did "scientific racism" lend support to the notion of white supremacy?
5. Why were many African-Americans eager to serve in the Spanish-American War?
6. How did racial attitudes at the turn of the century shape American perceptions of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines?

Black Americans and the Spanish-American War

Introduction: Like white Americans, African-Americans expressed a wide variety of opinions on the topics raised by the Spanish-American War. While blacks and whites often held similar views, some issues of the era struck closer to home in the African-American community. Blacks, for example, placed greater significance on the role of black soldiers in the conflict. They were also more sensitive to the racial overtones of imperialism.

Your Assignment: In this activity, your group has been assigned a selection of excerpts that appeared in black-owned newspapers around the time of the Spanish-American War. As you will see, your group's selection focuses on a specific subject and time period.

Part I

Your group should first analyze the opinions expressed in your selection. For each excerpt, your group should discuss the following questions.

1. What are the main values underlying the writer's position?
2. What policy or course of action is the writer recommending?
3. How are the concerns of the African-American community reflected in the excerpt?

Part II

After your group has reviewed and discussed each of the excerpts, you should write a summary of the views presented. Your goal is to express the general attitude of the African-American community on the subject your group has studied. A spokesperson from your group should be prepared to share your summary with the class.

Summary of selection:

The Black Press and American Imperialism

Selection 1 — The approaching war with Spain

A. "Let Uncle Sam keep hands off of other countries till he has learned to govern his own. Human life at home is at a low ebb now and should be protected before reaching out to protect others." (*Kansas City American Citizen*, January 14, 1898)

B. "The destruction of the *Maine* was a crime against this nation not yet fully realized....Spain has wickedly sinned against Christian civilization and must atone for its offending. Two hundred and twenty-five white Americans and thirty-three Afro-Americans have been wantonly murdered. The colored men of America have immense interests at stake. As a citizen and patriot, let him make common cause with the people and again prove himself an element of strength and power in vindicating the honor and claims of his country in the hour of the nation's peril." (*Cleveland Gazette*, February 19, 1898)

C. "The southern statesmen who plead for Cuba could learn a valuable lesson by looking around their own bloodcurdling confines of butchery....There is about as much respect for the Constitution of the United States in the southern states as there is for the Bible in Hades. The atrocious killing of Baker and his baby at the breast of its mother took place for no other reason than the fact that the President of the United States appointed him postmaster of an office where over half the inhabitants of the town were colored. The Post Office was set afire and then as Postmaster Baker attempted to come out of the burning building he was shot dead; then his wife and two of his daughters received dangerous wounds. All this was the work of highly civilized white South Carolina American citizens." (*Kansas City, American Citizen*, February 24, 1898)

D. "The thousands of patriotic Americans of Caucasian blood who are willing to go to war will be supplemented by thousands of colored men who will vie with them in patriotism and bravery on the field of battle. If he is given but a fair show, the colored volunteer will put up as bold and solid a front and capture as many flags and men as a given number of his white compatriots will dare do." (*Washington Bee*, February 26, 1898)

E. "[The coming war] is a blessing in disguise for the Negro. He will if for no other reason be possessed of arms, which in the South, in face of threatened mob violence, he is not allowed to have. He will become trained and disciplined. He will get honor. He will have the opportunity of proving to the world his real bravery, worth, and manhood." (*Indianapolis Freeman*, April 23, 1898)

Selections excerpted from *The Black Press Views American Imperialism (1898-1900)*.

The Black Press and American Imperialism

Selection 2 — The status of black soldiers

A. "Heretofore all colored men who enlisted in the army of the United States have been hustled off to a colored regiment. The government should be made to understand that if the great United States could not recognize the Negro as an American citizen and soldier, qualified to stand shoulder to shoulder with any white man, that the black [soldier] was not over particular to stop Spanish bullets. Now is the time to make Uncle Sam toe the mark and show his colors." (*Parsons Weekly Blade*, March 23, 1898)

B. "President McKinley has an excellent opportunity of doing what no other President has ever done. He has the opportunity of distinguishing and endearing himself in the hearts of the American negro. There are several distinguished major-generals and other military officers to be appointed. The negro is to do his share of fighting in the coming conflict. The negroes don't intend to be dirt workers and scullions in the fight. Let black generals command black troops and Spain will be thrashed in a week." (*Washington Bee*, March 30, 1898)

C. "It is now proposed to place in charge of these troops [two black battalions from Virginia] white officers and to form a regiment with a white colonel. The cry should be "No officers, no fight!" It is the duty of the national government and especially of the state officials to form a regiment in this state and promote Major J.B. Johnson [a black officer in the militia] to the position of colonel. Colored men must contend for their rights now, or they will lose them hereafter." (*Richmond Planet*, April 30, 1898)

D. "A message just received from the war department states that they will not accept the colored Captain of our colored company. We answered back that we positively refused to go under a white captain. We are glad that our people made this stand because if they need us or at least wanted our service they would permit us to have colored officers." (*Iowa State Bystander*, June 17, 1898)

E. "The Negroes of Los Angeles are losing no time in proving their bravery and patriotism. They are enlisting every day. There has been a colored company formed. All honor and pride to the Negroes showing a kind disposition to return good for evil, showing his respect for the soldiers, both black and white who fought for his freedom; his willingness to help free his brother in black over in Cuba." (*Indianapolis Freeman*, May 7, 1898)

F. "The lynching mill has started up again after a short suspense and is grinding out one, two and three victims per day. Louisiana, to keep in the lead of her competitors in this bloody damnable work, took occasion to burn a Negro at the stake. Texas strung up two or three; Maryland, one; Missouri, two; Arkansas, one. This is a splendid home record for a great nation engaged in a war with another nation, because cruelty is laid at the door of the other fellow — good record sure. Now, while Uncle Sam can find time to shoot Spaniards for their cruelty to Cubans, he ought to take a little of the time and make a thorough search among the persecuted part of the Americans about his own door mat." (*Parsons Weekly Blade*, June 11, 1898)

Selections excerpted from *The Black Press Views American Imperialism (1898-1900)*.

The Black Press and American Imperialism

Selection 3 — The status of Cuba and Puerto Rico

A. "It is hoped that Cuba will not be annexed to the United States. Under Spanish rule the Negro is treated, to a great extent, as a man, although Spanish laws may be severe and oppressive. The moment an attempt is made to establish American prejudice on the island of Cuba, that moment there will be trouble. The negro Cuban will not tolerate it, neither will he submit to American prejudice and her discriminating customs. There is a great deal of difference between the Cuban and American Negro. The former is brave, bold and intelligent, while the latter is intelligent but submissive." (*Washington Bee*, August 27, 1898)

B. "Of all men the negro should favor territorial expansion. The retention of Uncle Sam's newly-acquired possessions furnishes a brighter outlook for the negro climatically, industrially and socially than any other class of American citizens." (*Coffeyville American*, October 29, 1898)

C. "No wonder the Cubans and Filipinos look with fear and distrust upon American occupation and control. The way we treat our own citizens in North Carolina and other southern states is positive proof that their doubts are well founded." (*Washington Bee*, November 15, 1898)

D. "President McKinley's special commissioner to Cuba and Puerto Rico has made the startling discovery that the Cubans are not capable of self-government. It is to be regretted that he was not sent on his errand sooner, that he did not make his report to Congress before that honorable body declared war for the freedom and independence of Cuba. There is not much surprise over this discovery. This opinion has been gaining ground and it will be but a short time before the complications in the Cuban situation will disappear. Annexation will accomplish this end." (*Indianapolis Record*, January 14, 1899)

Selections excerpted from *The Black Press Views American Imperialism (1898-1900)*.

The Black Press and American Imperialism

Selection 4 — Annexing the Philippines

A. "The Philippine Islands will offer an excellent opportunity for Negro colonization, not colonization for the purpose of getting out of this country, but for the same purpose that the white man colonizes, for the purpose of making money. Most of the islands are unexplored and undeveloped, and here is where a grand opportunity presents itself to the negro. A colony of enterprising American negroes could make money there, and the chances are the stars and stripes would afford him more protection there than it does here at home." (*Coffeyville American*, May 28, 1898)

B. "The Philippines are not very desirable for acquisition. The turbulent citizens, natives, half-breeds and Spaniards will in all probability always be restless and discontented with any form of government, no matter how modern or enlightened. These people will never be able to understand the institutions of this country and hence will not appreciate them. They will be as ready to strike a benefactor as they would a foe, causing our country to put into practice methods which to the world would appear inhumane, but which in reality would be necessary for restraint or the suppression of revolting tendencies. The *Maine* has been amply avenged, and our country cannot righten all the wrongs on earth." (*Indianapolis Freeman*, July 30 1898)

C. "Why should we squabble about the Philippines? Why should we try to evade our responsibilities? Shall we surrender these people to the mercy of the men against whom they have made war in our interest? We would say no a thousand times; the United States should free them from the oppressive rule that has held them for three centuries and again our commercial interest in the Far East needs protection. How can we accomplish that end better than keeping these islands? It would open new markets for us, why cast aside such an opportunity that lies within our grasp to do our duty?" (*Iowa State Bystander*, August 5, 1898)

D. "Because Spain tried to whip some of her children, Uncle Sam steps in and takes the children under his arm for protection; and then steps a little further on and takes another part of the Spanish family and their land to pay for the trouble of taking another set, and then steps around the other side of the world and gobbles up another small kingdom for trading stock. All this highway robbery is done in the name of humanity and is done by a nation that shows by its actions at home that the principles of humanity are an unknown factor when the treatment of the American negro is taken into consideration." (*Parsons Weekly Blade*, December 10, 1898)

E. "To hear the southern anti-expansionists talk about the unwisdom of accepting the Philippines without the consent of the governed, one would think that they were the most ardent and honest supporters of republican government, wherein every citizen whether white or black is accorded the full and free exercise of the right of suffrage. Of all the people who claim to be Americans, the southern autocrat is the last person who should talk of the consent of the governed. American negroes are treated as aliens and are denied that consideration which these southern hypocrites declare belong to the Philippines. This opposition to expansion on the part of the South is in sad and ludicrous contrast with the expansion of slave territory upon which they insisted even to the dismemberment of the Union." (*Washington Bee*, December 17, 1898)

Selections excerpted from *The Black Press Views American Imperialism (1898-1900)*.

The Black Press and American Imperialism

Selection 5 — Filipino nationalism

A. "On sober second thought there appears to be a grain of wisdom in the Philippino's refusal to come under the sheltering wing of a country which has repeatedly demonstrated its inability to protect the lives and property of its own citizens within a stone's throw of the seat of government. Are those tender-hearted expansionists really actuated by the desire to save the Filipinos from self-destruction or is it the worldly greed for gain? When one of the great Christian countries finds a strip of land it desires to possess, it is quickly seized with a commendable desire to spread the benign influence of civilization over the natives; and what a remarkably small number of natives are left after the process of civilizing has been completed!" (*Indianapolis Recorder*, January 28, 1899)

B. "...the spirit of heroism, of patriotism in the interest of independence, which is manifested [by Filipino nationalists] goes to show that all races under favorable or unfavorable conditions will make a desperate effort for freedom and independence. While we are with this country in its contest for supremacy of the doctrines of humanity, we cannot but admire the bravery of people who, escaping from the tyranny of one nation, looks with doubt upon the friendship of a new protectorate. Moreover, there is some analogy between the struggle which is now going on among the colored people for constitutional liberty and that of a similar race in the orient [the Filipinos] and hence a bond of sympathy naturally springs up. We are for the flag pure and unstained." (*Washington Bee*, March 11, 1899)

C. "That manifesto issued by the Filipino [insurgent] government sounds of the right stuff and has caused no end of uneasiness among Americans. The backbone displayed by these "ignorant, uncivilized" barbarians as termed by the Americans, is what the Negro of the United States needs. Take pattern, ye black sons of America!" (*Salt Lake City Broad Ax*, March 11, 1899)

D. "The Americans are determined to make the Filipinos accept civilization at the point of the bayonet. The officers in command of the American forces are old Indian fighters, who owe their success to the close adherence to the theory that "a dead Indian is the best Indian." They will employ the same methods in dealing with the Filipinos." (*Indianapolis Recorder*, March 18, 1899)

Selections excerpted from *The Black Press Views American Imperialism (1898-1900)*.

Role Playing the Three Options: Organization and Preparation

Objectives:

Students will:

- Analyze the issues confronting Americans at the close of the Spanish-American War.
- Identify the core values underlying each of the options.
- Integrate the arguments and beliefs of the options and the background readings into a persuasive, coherent presentation.
- Work cooperatively within groups to organize effective presentations.

Required Reading:

Students should have read "Fall 1898: America at the Crossroads" (page 19 of the student text).

Handouts:

- "Considering Your Option — Fall 1898" (page 24 of the teacher's guide) for option groups.
- "Concerned Citizens — Fall 1898" (page 25 of the teacher's guide) for concerned citizens.

In the Classroom:

1. *Reaching a Critical Juncture* — Review "Fall 1898 — America at the Crossroads" with students. Emphasize that by the fall of 1898, the focus of the debate on U.S. policy toward Spain's former colonies had shifted from the Caribbean to the Philippines.

2. *Planning for Group Work* — In order to save time in the classroom, form student groups before beginning Day Three. During the class period of Day Three, students will be preparing for the Day Four simulation. Remind them to incorporate the background reading into the development of their presentations and questions.

3a. *Option Groups* — Form three groups of three to five students. Assign an option to each group. Distribute "Considering Your Option — Fall 1898" to the three option groups. Inform students that each option group will be called upon in Day Four to present the case for its assigned option to a gathering of the residents of the fictitious town of Springville. Explain that the option groups should follow the instructions in "Considering Your Option — Fall 1898."

3b. *Concerned Citizens* — Distribute "Concerned Citizens — Fall 1898" to the remainder of the class. While the option groups are preparing their presentations, the concerned citizens should define a role for themselves and then develop questions to be directed to the option groups on Day Four. (See "Concerned Citizens — Fall 1898.") Emphasize that the roles they create should fit the profile of Springville. Encourage them to collaborate with their fellow "Concerned Citizens" to ensure that a broad cross section of the town's residents is represented. Each student should prepare at least two questions for each of the options. Remind the citizens that they are expected to turn in their role descriptions and questions at the end of the simulation.

Extra Challenge:

Ask the option groups to design posters illustrating the best case for their options. The concerned citizens may be asked to design a political cartoon expressing their concerns.

Homework:

Students should complete preparations for the simulation.

Considering Your Option — Fall 1898

Instructions: Your group has been asked to present your views on the treaty with Spain at a town hall meeting of the citizens of Springville, the small town where you live. At Springville's last town hall meeting, a majority of citizens voted to express Springville's position on the treaty in a petition to the U.S. Senate. Now, your group will have an opportunity to persuade your fellow citizens that Springville should accept your option as the town's position.

Each member of your group should play a specific role to help bring forward the strong points of your option. Below are some roles you might consider adopting.

- Business leader (to speak on economic issues)
- Small farmer (to speak on concerns facing farmers)
- Retired military officer (to speak on foreign policy and military issues)
- Religious leader (to speak on moral issues)
- History teacher (to speak on the lessons of the past)

In addition, your group will need a spokesperson to present an overall summary of your option.

After reading your option, answer the questions below from the viewpoint of your option. This worksheet will help you prepare a three-to-five minute presentation that your group will deliver on Day Four. Keep in mind that your group's presentation may include only information that was available in the fall of 1898. After all of the groups have presented their options, your fellow citizens will have an opportunity to challenge your arguments.

1. According to your option, what are the main problems currently facing the United States?

2. How important is overseas trade and the possession of colonies to America's economic prosperity?

3. Which values should guide our country's role in the world?

4. If your option is adopted, how will it shape America's direction in the 20th century?

5. What specific course of action does your option recommend with respect to the Philippines?

Concerned Citizens — Fall 1898

Your Role

You have been called upon to express the concerns of a resident of the small town of Springville in the fall of 1898. Although many of your fellow citizens still earn their living from farming, Springville has changed markedly since a railroad line was built through your town a decade ago. Springville now has a small factory that produces furniture. The railroad has also brought a steady stream of immigrants to your town, most of whom work in the factory or as farm hands. The immigrants generally live in a poorer section of town, not far from Springville's small black community.

Your town was hit hard by the depression that began in 1893. Both farmers and the furniture factory are just beginning to recover from the downturn. Since the outbreak of the war with Spain, however, foreign policy has replaced economics as the main topic of conversation in Springville. Several of the young men in your town enlisted in the volunteer forces that fought in Cuba and the Philippines. A few remain stationed in the Philippines.

Now that a treaty with Spain has been signed, the citizens of Springville have decided to express your town's position on the agreement in a petition to the U.S. Senate. You and your fellow citizens will attend a town hall meeting to hear three distinct positions, or options, on U.S. policy.

Defining Your Role

First, you will need to define a role for yourself. Use what you have learned about the United States in the 1890s to design a character that would fit the town of Springville.

1. Describe your role. (For example, your description might include information on your character's age, gender, occupation, ethnic background, family, and the important events in his or her life.)
2. What are your character's main concerns and hopes for the future?

Developing Questions

Once you have defined a role for yourself, you should prepare two questions from the perspective of your character regarding each of the options. The questions should reflect the values and interests of your role. Keep in mind that your questions should be based only on information that was available in the fall of 1898. For example, an appropriate question about Option 1 from the perspective of a returning soldier would be:

Under Option 1, wouldn't we have to send increasing numbers of our troops overseas to defend our colonies?

On Day Four, the three option groups will present their positions. After their presentations are completed, your teacher will call on you and your fellow citizens to ask questions. The "Evaluation Form" you receive is designed for you to record your impressions of the option groups. At the end of the activity, you will be expected to turn in the "Evaluation Form," as well as your responses to the "Concerned Citizens — Fall 1898" worksheet.

Role Playing the Three Options: Debate and Discussion

Objectives:

Students will:

- Articulate the leading values influencing U.S. public opinion in the fall of 1898.
- Explore, debate, and evaluate multiple perspectives on U.S. imperialism.
- Sharpen rhetorical skills through debate and discussion.
- Cooperate with classmates in staging a persuasive presentation.

Handouts:

- "Evaluation Form" (page 27 of the teacher's guide) for the concerned citizens.

In the Classroom:

1. *Setting the Stage* — Organize the room so that the three option groups face a row of desks reserved for the concerned citizens. Distribute "Evaluation Form" to the citizens.
2. *Managing the Simulation* — Explain that the simulation will begin with three-to-five minute presentations by the spokespersons for the option groups. Encourage the spokespersons to speak clearly and convincingly.
3. *Guiding Discussion* — Following the presentations, invite the "concerned citizens" to ask questions. Make sure that each citizen has an opportunity to ask at least one question. The questions should be evenly distributed among all three option groups. If time permits, encourage members of the option groups to challenge the positions of other groups. During cross-examination, allow any option group member to respond. (As an alternative approach, permit questions after each option is presented.)

Homework:

Students should read "Epilogue — Imperialism's Bitter Fruit" (pages 30-33 of the student text) and complete "Study Guide — Epilogue" (page 29 of the teacher's guide).

Evaluation Form

Concerned Citizens — Fall 1898

Instructions: Answer the questions below from the perspective of your character.

Part I

What was the most persuasive argument presented in favor of this option?

Option 1

Option 2

Option 3

What was the most persuasive argument presented against this option?

Option 1

Option 2

Option 3

Part II

Which group presented its option most effectively? Explain your answer.

Extracting Lessons for Current U.S. Policy

Objectives:

Students will:

- Evaluate the long-term consequences of U.S. involvement in the Caribbean and the Philippines.
- Analyze how the concept of imperialism has evolved.
- Apply lessons from the Spanish-American War era to current U.S. policy.

Required Reading:

Students should have read "Epilogue — Imperialism's Bitter Fruit" (pages 30-33 of the student text) and completed "Study Guide — Epilogue" (page 29 of the teacher's guide).

Handouts:

- "Lessons from the Age of Imperialism" (page 30 of the teacher's guide).

In the Classroom:

1. *Analyzing Beliefs* — Call on the "concerned citizens" to share their evaluations of the option groups from the perspective of the characters they created. Which arguments were most convincing? Which beliefs were most appealing? To what extent did the options address their concerns? Note that each of the options attracted a disparate coalition of supporters. Why did the debate over the treaty with Spain make for such strange political bedfellows?
2. *The Filipino Insurrection* — Note that America's war against the *insurrectos* of the Philippines is among the least explored conflicts in U.S. history. What accounts for the neglect? What lessons should have been extracted from America's involvement in the Philippines? In what respects were the mistakes of the past repeated in Vietnam? Likewise, call on students to assess America's role in the Caribbean after the Spanish-American War. How did U.S. policy toward Cuba contribute to the success of Fidel Castro's revolution? In what areas did expanded U.S. involvement in the Caribbean benefit the region?
3. *Economic Imperialism* — Distribute "Lessons from the Age of Imperialism" and review the introduction with the class. Emphasize the distinction between the overt imperialism of the colonial powers and the concept of "economic imperialism" that has emerged since World War II. Why is the United States often viewed as the inheritor of the British empire? Why is our country frequently the object of resentment in the developing world?
4. *Extracting Lessons* — Call on students to consider each of the statements in "Lessons from the Age of Imperialism." Suggest that they rank the statements in terms of their degree of support. Which lessons from the Spanish-American War era are most appealing? Are there other lessons from the period that are also relevant? Invite students to apply the lessons of the Spanish-American War era to current foreign policy issues. For example, how should the lessons of the period guide our policy toward Cuba or Haiti? Are they relevant to the U.S. response to conflict in the Balkans or America's trade policy?
5. *The Role of Public Opinion* — Note that the Spanish-American War occurred at a time when urbanization, improved transportation and communications, rising literacy rates, and the growth of the press were creating a mass society in the United States. How did these factors influence U.S. policy at the time? To what extent did the emerging force of public opinion reshape the parameters of political leadership? How has the impact of public opinion on U.S. foreign policy changed since the turn of the century?

Extra Challenge:

As homework, distribute "Topics for Further Investigation" (page 31 of the teacher's guide). Instruct students to choose a topic for additional research.

Study Guide — Epilogue

Imperialism's Bitter Fruit

1. What made the Filipino insurrection "far different than any conflict in which Americans had previously fought"? Why has the war received so little attention in U.S. history?
2. Why were African-Americans among the strongest critics of the war against the Filipino nationalists?
3. Why did the United States lose its appetite for imperialism in the early 1900s?
4. How did the United States contribute to the development of Cuba and Puerto Rico?
5. Why did many Cubans come to resent the U.S. presence on their island?

Lessons from the Age of Imperialism

Introduction: After World War II, the colonial empires of Britain, France, and other Western powers soon collapsed. Dozens of countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America gained their independence. Almost all of these new states are today considered part of the "developing world."

According to many leaders of the developing world, Western imperialism did not end with the disintegration of colonial empires. They contend that the world's wealthiest nations have continued to dominate them through "economic imperialism." Not surprisingly, the United States is viewed as the leading force behind economic imperialism.

In this activity, you will have an opportunity to consider how our country's experience during the Spanish-American War period applies to U.S. involvement in the developing world today. The statements below both assess the U.S. role in the Philippines and the Caribbean at the turn of the century and offer lessons for the present. Indicate the extent to which you believe the statements should guide our country today.

1 = Strongly agree 2 = Agree 3 = No opinion 4 = Disagree 5 = Strongly disagree

___ Although the United States made mistakes in the Philippines and Cuba, our country's record was much better than that of other imperialist powers at the time. In general, the United States has wielded its enormous power responsibly and has served as a positive force in international affairs.

___ At the time of the Spanish-American War, Americans were blinded by pride and arrogance. Our country falsely believed that America could save the world. In fact, U.S. meddling did more harm than good in the Philippines and Cuba. Most of our country's adventures in the developing world today are likewise doomed to failure.

___ U.S. technology and expertise brought advancements to Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines that the local people could not have accomplished themselves. We have a responsibility to do the same for developing countries today.

___ U.S. leaders at the time of the Spanish-American War recognized the need to actively protect our country's economic and security interests overseas. Today, the tactics are clearly different, but the need for U.S. involvement internationally is greater than ever.

___ The United States rushed into war in both Cuba and the Philippines largely for the sake of war. In fact, the main issues at the time could have easily been resolved without bloodshed. Today, more than ever, war must be an option of last resort.

___ The Philippines, and perhaps even Cuba and Puerto Rico, would have been snatched up by an aggressive colonial power if the United States had not stepped in. In that case, the local people would have been far worse off than they were under U.S. administration. Today as well, if the United States does not fill a vacuum of power, another more aggressive nation will.

___ America's brutal and tragic war against the Filipino *insurrectos* resulted from the ignorance and ambition of U.S. policymakers. U.S. leaders must first take into account the wishes of the local people before taking action overseas.

___ America's involvement in the Philippines helped open the country to Western culture and plant the seeds of democracy. As a result, Filipinos gained a head start in putting their country on the road to democracy and freedom. American values continue to make the world a better place today, and we should not be shy about promoting them internationally.

Extra Challenge: Topics For Further Investigation

Instructions: Write a brief research paper on one of the topics below.

1. The United States and other former imperial powers continue to dominate the world economically. Many leaders of the developing world charge that their countries are victims of "economic imperialism." Analyze the argument that developing countries suffer from economic imperialism. In particular, identify the institutions (such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and multinational corporations) that are often viewed as instruments of economic imperialism.
2. Some historians argue that America's acquisition of the Philippines made conflict with Japan inevitable. Analyze the connection between America's presence in the Philippines and the friction with Japan that led to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941.
3. America's involvement in the Vietnam War was similar in some respects to the U.S. campaign against the Filipino *insurrectos*. Compare our country's goals and tactics in both wars. Offer an explanation as to why the United States succeeded in defeating the insurrection in the Philippines but failed to stop communism in Vietnam.
4. American public opinion played a larger role in the Spanish-American War than in any previous conflict. Since then, the impact of public opinion on U.S. foreign policy has continued to grow, especially in times of conflict. Analyze how public opinion enters the debate on U.S. foreign policy. In particular, evaluate how improvements in communications technology influence our country's response to international crises.
5. African-Americans have seen the military as both a vehicle for opportunity and a source of discrimination. Assess the role of blacks in the military since the Spanish-American War. Pay special attention to the forces that have contributed to the breakdown of racial barriers in the armed services and identify the obstacles to racial equality that remain.
6. In 1904, President Theodore Roosevelt asserted the right of the United States to intervene in "Latin America and the Caribbean when 'flagrant and chronic wrongdoing or incompetence threatened the peace.'" Since then, the United States has acted as the policeman of the Western Hemisphere on numerous occasions. Evaluate America's record of intervention in the Western Hemisphere.
7. Around the turn of the century, the United States established control over Cuba, Guam, Hawaii, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and the Panama Canal Zone. Determine the political status that was initially assigned to each possession and explain how it changed over time.

Critiquing the "White Man's Burden"

Objectives:

Students will:

- Understand the political context of "The White Man's Burden."
- Identify the main values expressed in the four featured poems.
- Analyze the relationship between poetic techniques and political messages.

Handouts:

- "Poetry and Politics — 'The White Man's Burden'" (pages 34-37 of the student text).

In the Classroom:

1. *Getting Started* — Distribute "Poetry and Politics — 'The White Man's Burden'" and review the introduction with the class. (To avoid photocopying, consider reading the handout to the class rather than giving students individual copies.) Explain that Kipling spent much of his life in India and was best known for his novels and poems about British imperial rule.

2. *Studying the Poem* — Read "The White Man's Burden," stanza by stanza, with the class. Call on students to identify the words and phrases that best reflect Kipling's attitudes. How do Kipling's imagery, metaphors, and historical references convey the author's message? What are the principal values that are put forward? How does Kipling view the subject of colonialism? What does he mean when he predicts that Americans will reap the "blame of those ye better"? Invite students to comment on how U.S. senators in February 1898 might have reacted to the poem. What values expressed in the poem may have tipped the balance in favor of the Treaty of Paris of 1898?

3. *Exploring Opposing Viewpoints* — Read the three rebuttals to Kipling's poem, again analyzing the style and values of the authors. How do the rebuttals differ in their policy recommendations and their visions of American society from those of "The White Man's Burden"? Call on students to identify the principal values that emerge from each of the three rebuttals. For example, what is the chief focus of "What is the White Man's Burden"? How does it differ from that of "Take up the Black Man's Burden" or "Home Burdens of Uncle Sam"?

Extra Challenge:

Instruct students to draw a political cartoon that conveys the primary message in one of the four poems. Suggest that students incorporate the imagery and symbolism of the poems they have selected into their political cartoons.

Remembering the *Maine*

Objectives:

Students will:

- Assess the political context surrounding the investigation of the sinking of the *Maine*.
- Weigh how new information about the sinking of the *Maine* should be incorporated into history.
- Analyze the dilemmas facing a democratic society in times of conflict.

Required Reading:

Before the lesson, students should have read "Optional Reading: History's Verdict on the *Maine* Disaster" (pages 38-39 of the student text) and completed "Study Guide — Optional Reading" (page 34 of the teacher's guide).

In the Classroom:

1. *Considering the Political Context* — Ask students to summarize the political context surrounding the *Maine* explosion and the subsequent naval court of inquiry. How was the sinking of the *Maine* connected to Roosevelt's program to strengthen the navy? Why did McKinley fail to ensure a more thorough, objective investigation? What would have been the likely consequences if the court of inquiry had found that the *Maine* had been sunk by an internal explosion?

2. *The Judgment of History* — Call on students to imagine that they are writing a section on the Spanish-American War for a high school history textbook. How would they incorporate the evidence uncovered by Rickover? How would Rickover's conclusions likely change the views of high school students toward the Spanish-American War?

3. *Dilemmas of Democracy* — Note that in times of international tension a single dramatic incident can often sway public opinion in favor of war. Invite students to analyze the impact of the sinking of *Lusitania*, the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Gulf of Tonkin incident, reports of Iraqi atrocities in Kuwait, and other incidents on American involvement in past wars. In which cases were the facts manipulated to influence public opinion? How did the incidents affect the course of history? Ask students to consider the challenges facing a democracy waging war. Emphasize that the effectiveness of a democracy in wartime depends largely on public support. Given the limitations of a free and open society to marshal its resources, are there times when the manipulation of facts is justified from the standpoint of national interest? Once the fighting has begun, should news of the war be subject to censorship? For example, were the tight controls on reporting during the Persian Gulf War justified?

Study Guide — Optional Reading

History's Verdict on the *Maine*'s Disaster

1. Why was the cause of the explosion that sunk the *Maine* such a controversial issue in the weeks before the outbreak of the Spanish-American War?
2. What were the main reasons Rickover concluded that the *Maine* could not have been sunk by an external explosion?
3. Why did explosions on two French battleships in the early 1900s suggest that the *Maine* was sunk by an internal explosion?
4. Why did the design of the *Maine* leave it vulnerable to an internal explosion?
5. Considering the evidence and technology available at the time, should the naval court of inquiry have reached the same conclusion as Rickover? How many of the eleven main points presented by Rickover should have been uncovered in 1898?

Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan

Day 1: _____ See Day One of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan. (Students should have read Part I of the background reading and completed "Study Guide — Part I" before beginning the unit.)

Homework: Students should read "Fall 1898: America at the Crossroads."

Day 2: _____ Assign each student one of the three options, and allow students a few minutes to familiarize themselves with the mindsets of the options. Call on students to evaluate the benefits and trade-offs of their assigned options. How do the options differ in their overall philosophies? What are their assumptions about America's future role in the world? How do they view the advantages and disadvantages of imperialism? Moving beyond their assigned options, students should imagine that they are involved in a town meeting convened in the fall of 1898 to assess the U.S. peace treaty with Spain. How would they want their senator to vote on the treaty? What factors would most influence the town's position? What values would have the greatest appeal among the town residents?

Homework: Students should read "Epilogue — Imperialism's Bitter Fruit" and complete "Study Guide — Epilogue."

Day 3: _____ See Day Five of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan.

Making Choices Work in Your Classroom

Like the art of cooking, cooperative group learning is a skill that is rarely perfected on the first attempt, either by teachers or students. Yet with careful preparation, guidance, and practice significant gains can be made quickly. No single recipe guarantees success with cooperative learning or the Choices approach in every classroom. That would be impossible, since each classroom differs in its organization and size, and its unique collection of personalities and needs. However, this section of the Teacher's Resource Book offers a variety of ingredients for teachers to use as they adapt Choices curricula to their classrooms. The suggested ingredients that follow have been drawn from educational research on student-centered instruction and, more important, from the experiences of teachers who have used Choices curricula successfully in their classrooms over the past six years. Educators who have questions about using Choices curricula in their classrooms are encouraged to contact the Choices Education Project in writing, or by calling (401)863-3155. The Choices staff includes experienced classroom teachers who will be pleased to speak with you.

Designing Cooperative Learning Groups

Group Size: The key to successful cooperative group work is having a group assignment that is complex enough to require the participation of all group members. Planning the size and composition of working groups in advance is crucial to the successful use of Choices curricula. Research indicates that the ideal size for a cooperative learning group is four or five students. This is certainly the ideal size for group assignments in Choices units. When using Choices units in larger classes, the size of option groups may be expanded to six or seven students. However, it is important to keep in mind that whenever the number of students in a group is increased, the number of roles and expected outcomes must also be expanded.

Group Composition: A strength of cooperative learning is that it creates opportunities for students to work together in new combinations on challenging tasks. Cooperative learning not only requires the academic skills of reading, writing, and critical thinking, but the interpersonal skills of communication, negotiation, and problem-solving. In most cases, this style of instruction and learning is most effective when students are assigned to groups by the teacher rather than being allowed to work with their friends. While random group selection can be effective, in most classes successful group composition requires that the teacher consider the personalities, strengths, and needs of the students.

Groups comprised of students with diverse strengths, talents, and needs are ideal. For example, artistic students might be assigned to different groups to share their talents and perspectives, while less verbal students could be placed in groups with more outgoing students to help draw them into the lesson. Whenever possible, teachers should try to prevent one student from dominating a group. Explaining the instructions, roles, and ground rules for cooperative learning (see below) helps prevent this. Teachers may choose to group aggressive students with each other, leaving room in other groups for less assertive students to emerge as leaders. Finally, even though the negotiation of roles among the students in a group can be a valuable part of the cooperative learning experience, teachers might choose to assign certain roles, such as group spokesperson, in order to encourage leadership from more reticent students and to keep more aggressive students from dominating.

Students may initially complain about being assigned to groups that do not include their closest friends. We have found that, at the conclusion of the assignment, they will usually express satisfaction with their assigned partners, recognize that they got more accomplished, and sometimes even acknowledge the start of new friendships. The additional time involved in planning group size and composition will pay off when students are actively engaged, debating, and thinking critically.

Preparing Students for Cooperative Learning

Provide Clear Written Instructions: As with any assignment, students benefit from instructions and guidelines that clearly outline expectations and how they will be accomplished. These should be given to students in writing and reviewed with the class. Afterwards, as questions arise within groups, students should refer to the written instructions and attempt to answer each other's questions before asking for the teacher's assistance.

Establish Ground Rules: Especially when cooperative learning is a new experience, students benefit from the establishment of ground rules that are explained before groups are formed. Ground rules must be kept simple, and should be designed to keep students involved and on task. Posting these rules in a prominent place in the classroom can be very effective. An example of simple but effective ground rules for the cooperative group assignments could be:

Everybody has a role (or a job)
Everybody participates

Nobody dominates
Nobody interrupts

These rules can be enforced by appointing one student to serve as the group manager. The teacher can make it clear that one of the group manager's responsibilities is to enforce the ground rules as the group explores its assigned option and prepares its presentation. The group manager might also be required to make sure that members of the group stay on task and attempt to solve problems before asking for the teacher's assistance. Ground rules that are clear and used consistently can, over time, become an integral component of the classroom, facilitating learning and keeping students on task.

Managing the Choices Simulation

Recognize Time Limitations: At the heart of the Choices approach is the role-play simulation in which students advocate different options, question each other, and debate. Just as thoughtful preparation is necessary to set the stage for cooperative group learning, careful planning for the presentations and debate can increase the effectiveness of the simulation. Time is the essential ingredient to keep in mind. A minimum of 45 to 50 minutes is necessary for the presentations and debate. Hence, if only one class period is available, student groups must be ready as soon as class begins. Teachers who have been able to schedule a double period or extend the length of class to one hour report that the extra time is beneficial. When necessary, the role-play simulation can be run over two days, but this disrupts the momentum of the debate. The best strategy for managing the role-play is to establish and enforce strict time limits, such as five minutes for each option presentation, ten minutes for questions and challenges, and the final five minutes of class for wrapping up the debate. It is crucial to make students aware of strict time limits as they prepare their presentations.

Highlight the Importance of Values: During the debate and debriefing, it is important to highlight the role of values in the options. Students should be instructed to identify the core values and priorities underlying the different options.

Moving Beyond the Options

As a culminating activity of a Choices unit, students are expected to articulate their own views of the issue under consideration. An effective way to move beyond the options debate to creating individual options is to have students consider which values in the options framework they hold most dear. Typically, students will hold several of these values simultaneously and will need to prioritize them to reach a considered judgment about the issue at hand. These values should be reflected in their own options and should shape the goals and policies they advocate.

Adjusting for Large and Small Classes

Choices units are designed for an average class of twenty-five students. In larger classes, additional roles, such as those of newspaper reporter or member of a special interest group, can be assigned to increase student participation in the simulation. With larger option groups, additional tasks might be to create a poster, political cartoon, or public service announcement that represents the viewpoint of an option. In smaller classes, the teacher can serve as the moderator of the debate, and administrators, parents, or faculty can be invited to play the roles of congressional leaders. Another alternative is to combine two small classes.

Applying Choices to Ability-Grouped Classes

Choices curricula are developed with the majority of high school students in mind. Choices units are not designed solely for students in honors or advanced placement programs. Nor are they designed specifically for students in remedial classes. However, the units are designed to be flexible enough for high school teachers to adapt for *any* classroom, and they have been used successfully in all kinds of classes. The Choices staff places confidence in the ability of teachers to decide which units are best suited for the courses and students they teach. The following suggestions may assist teachers of higher- and lower-ability classes in adapting Choices curricula to meet the needs of their students.

Lower-Ability Classes: It would be a mistake to believe that the Choices approach is too difficult for students in lower-ability classes. Teachers report that, with certain adaptations, Choices units can motivate higher levels of student participation, thinking, and confidence in lower-ability classes. Feedback from classroom teachers indicates that the following strategies lead to success with Choices in these classes:

- Maintain high expectations for student learning and thinking.
- Classes of all abilities do a better job with Choices the second or third time the approach is used. Skills in collaboration, communication, and critical thinking improve with practice.
- Some units are easier than others because the necessary background is particularly accessible. Use one of these first to give the students some experience with the approach.
- To make background readings more manageable, some teachers have students read aloud in class, stopping to discuss or clarify key points. Other teachers substitute shorter readings from the textbook or another source as background reading.
- Key concepts from the background can be explained in a mini-lecture format.
- Students can review and keep track of the important terms in a unit by creating their own glossary for reference throughout the unit.
- An extra day for review of the background, for group preparation, or for the development of individual options can be very worthwhile.

Higher-Ability Classes: Choices units have much to offer students in higher-ability and advanced placement classes. Students are challenged to understand the internal logic of different arguments and to extrapolate from these while playing the role of advocate. Two-week Choices units are especially rich in historical background, and they highlight the complex relationships among nations through many eras. Choices units on historical topics typically include a wealth of primary source documents for students to read and analyze. These documents can help to prepare students in advanced placement classes for the "Document Based Questions" included on advanced placement examinations. Extra challenge assignments are included in many lesson plans, and every Choices unit includes suggestions for additional reading and research.

Assessing Student Achievement

Grading Group Assignments: Research suggests that it is counterproductive to give students individual grades on cooperative group assignments. A significant part of the assignment given to the group is to cooperate in achieving a common goal, as opposed to looking out for individual interests. Telling students in advance that the group will receive one grade often motivates group members to hold each other accountable. This can foster group cohesion and lead to better group results. It may be useful to note that in addition to the cooperative group assignments, students complete individual assignments as well in every Choices unit.

Requiring Self-Evaluation: Having students complete self-evaluations is an extremely effective way to make them think about their own learning. Self-evaluations can take many forms and are useful in a variety of circumstances. They are particularly helpful in getting students to think constructively about group collaboration. In developing a self-evaluation tool for students, teachers need to pose clear and direct questions to students. A sample Group Project Self-Evaluation is included on the following page. Each student should complete his/her own evaluation as part of the unit. Two key benefits of student self-evaluation are that it involves students in the assessment process, and that it provides teachers with valuable insights into the contributions of individual students and the dynamics of different groups. These insights can help teachers to organize groups for future cooperative assignments.

Evaluating Student Options: The most important outcomes of a Choices unit are the original options developed and articulated by each student. These will differ significantly from one another, as students identify different values and priorities that shape their viewpoints. These options cannot be graded as right or wrong, but should be evaluated on clarity of expression, logic, and thoroughness. Did the student provide reasons for his/her viewpoint along with supporting evidence? Were the values clear and consistent throughout the option? Did the student identify the risks involved? Did the student present his/her option in a convincing manner?

Testing: In a formal evaluation of the Choices approach, it was demonstrated that students using Choices learned the factual information presented as well as or better than students who were taught in a more traditional lecture-discussion format. However, the larger benefits of the Choices approach were evident when students using Choices demonstrated significantly higher ability to think critically, analyze multiple perspectives, and articulate original viewpoints, compared to students who did not use this approach. Teachers should hold students accountable for learning historical information, concepts, and current events presented in Choices units. However, a simple multiple-choice examination will not allow students to demonstrate the critical thinking and communication skills developed through the Choices unit. If teachers choose to test students, they may wish to explore new models of test design that require students to do more than recognize correct answers. Tests should not replace the development of student options.

For Further Reading: Cohen, Elizabeth G. *Designing Groupwork: Strategies for the Heterogeneous Classroom* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1986).

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